

Drive Carefully
CHILDREN
should be seen
and not hurt

Tuesday, May 8, 1984

THE JERUSALEM POST

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EIGHT PAGES
FROM SUNDAY'S
The New York Times
THE WEEK IN REVIEW
INSIDE TODAY

Sunshine and smiles on Independence Day

Taking advantage of the good weather yesterday, thousands of Israelis throughout the country flocked to the beaches and picnic areas on the country's 36th Independence Day.

Jerusalem's Gan Sacher was jammed with people of all ages, eating, chatting and playing in the sun. On Independence Day Eve, the centre of the capital was filled with dancing, plastic hammer-wielding folk, listening to street musicians, drinking coffee and enjoying the fireworks.

Some 16,000 excited spectators yesterday afternoon watched parachutists overcome strong winds to land in the centre of the Ramat Gan football stadium. Also at the stadium, there was a friendly football match between the national and the IDF teams and an Air Force aerobics show.

Shortly before the parachute jump, the organizers feared it would have to be cancelled because of the strong winds. But the weather improved somewhat and a white-winged glider plane appeared some 6,000 feet overhead.

Herzog gets telegrams from Mubarak, Reagan

President Chaim Herzog yesterday received a congratulatory telegram from Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak on the occasion of Independence Day.

Mubarak expressed his faithful good wishes and his hope that "we will succeed in our efforts to strengthen the peace process... and dispel the causes of tension, violence and anxiety."

Herzog also received a congratulatory telegram from U.S. President Ronald Reagan. (Irim)

Savior warns of dangers for society

By GREER FAY CASHMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Knesset Speaker Menachem Begin, in the main Independence Day ceremony Sunday night issued some blunt warnings about the dangers for society.

Savior warned that political, ethnic and religious polarization and intolerance are threatening to tear the fibre of democracy apart in Israel and to destroy the country's image.

"Calling for Israel's moral rehabilitation, Savior urged that the country's military strength be emulated politically to bring us closer to peace."

"The underground organization, attempting to use the barbaric methods of Arab terrorism contrary to Jewish morality, endangers the rule of law and may distort the image of the state and cause (Israel) harm in the international community."

Savior also spoke more generally about the "dangerous divides" in the nation which are relegating "us back to the period of the Judges, when each tribe emphasized" that which separated it from the others.

Savior bemoaned "the slowing down" in the process of achieving "good-neighbourly relations between Jews and Arabs."

Savior lit the first beacon to usher in Independence Day, after which 12 other beacons were lit by 12 citizens of modern Israel in symbolic

The parachutists jumped and let themselves free fall for 40 seconds - reaching a speed of 180kph - before opening their oblong-shaped parachutes.

Capacity crowds thronged central Tel Aviv on Sunday night and last night as the city combined the Independence Day festivities with its 75th anniversary. The city's bars and restaurants did a roaring trade and veteran Tel Avivians could hardly remember a better attended holiday.

The upper end of Dizengoff Street became a pedestrian mall, with entertainment on seven stages, folk dancing in the street and entrepreneurs hawking almost every conceivable item. In Kikar Malchei Yisrael, fronting the municipal building, tens of thousands were entertained by singers, dancers and comedians.

In Kikar Atarim thousands of the city's younger residents enjoyed an open-air disco with accompanying videos on a large screen.

Mayor Shlomo Lahat held a reception for the city's residents in the foyer of the municipal building yesterday evening. The mostly middle-aged crowd was treated to wine and snacks and entertained by live music.

Dizengoff again became a pedestrian mall last night, as the holiday was ushered out with street performances, clown shows, gymnastic displays and performances by some of the city's top artists. The mood was more relaxed than the previous night - with hardly a hammer in evidence - and the celebrants seemed to genuinely appreciate seeing real art free of charge.

Haifa was enveloped in a ring of steel yesterday as thousands of cars driving bumper to bumper brought tens of thousands to all sites of interest in the area. The Carmel (Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

remembrance of the 12 tribes of ancient Israel.

For the first time in the 36-year history of the state, an Israeli Arab was permitted to express his national pride at the beacon-lighting ceremony. At the beacon-lighting ceremony, Yehia Adib, a teacher of colloquial Arabic, who was born in Kfar Kara, two years before the state achieved independence, kindled the tenth beacon. (See story - Page 5)

The other beacon lighters were Segen Tzvi Lavrit, an American immigrant who works with youth to foster Jewish identity; Pakad Nazia Fero, a Druse officer in the Border Police; Sara Daniell, an Iranian-born school teacher from Kiryat Malachi, who represented the development towns; Rabbi Benjamin (Benji) Levin, educational director of the Geshet Jewish heritage programme and grandson of the late Rabbi Arielev Levin, who was famous for his work with prison inmates; Mordechai Tamir, the first commander of Nahal; Rabbi Professor Leon Ashkenazi, former military chaplain in the French Foreign Legion; Russian immigrant Alex Klavitzki; Dr. Uri Talmor, Israeli-born son of founders of Kfar Vitkin; Yemen-born Rabbani Brachcha Kapah, veteran provider for the needy; Ethiopian immigrant Ilma Radai and 85-year-old Hannah Levin, who in 1956 became Israel's first elected woman mayor, serving in Rishon LeZion.

4 killed in road accidents

Four persons were killed in two separate road accidents yesterday and Sunday.

Two soldiers who had been hitchhiking were struck and killed early yesterday evening while changing a flat tire on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway just west of the Sha'ar Hagai turnoff. Shimon Fadal, 25, of Rosh Ha'ayin, and Yehuda Albaz, 27, of Kfar Sava, were working on the shoulder when a car veered off the highway and struck them. The driver of the car was arrested for questioning.

On Sunday morning two members

35 electrocuted in bus in India

NEW DELHI (AP). - At least 35 passengers were electrocuted when an overcrowded bus came in touch with an overhead electricity wire yesterday near the northern Indian city of Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh state police reported.

The United News of India, however, quoted eye witnesses as saying 40 people were killed instantly when the high-voltage wire got entangled with old bicycles atop the inter-city bus.

District police chief U. Bajpai said many of the victims, including seven children, were burned beyond recognition.

Allahabad is nearly 600 kilometres southwest of the Indian capital.

of Kibbutz Mesilot were killed and 20 other persons injured in a series of accidents on the old coastal road bypass at Hadera. Because of the heavy fog it took ambulances and fire trucks several minutes to locate the accidents.

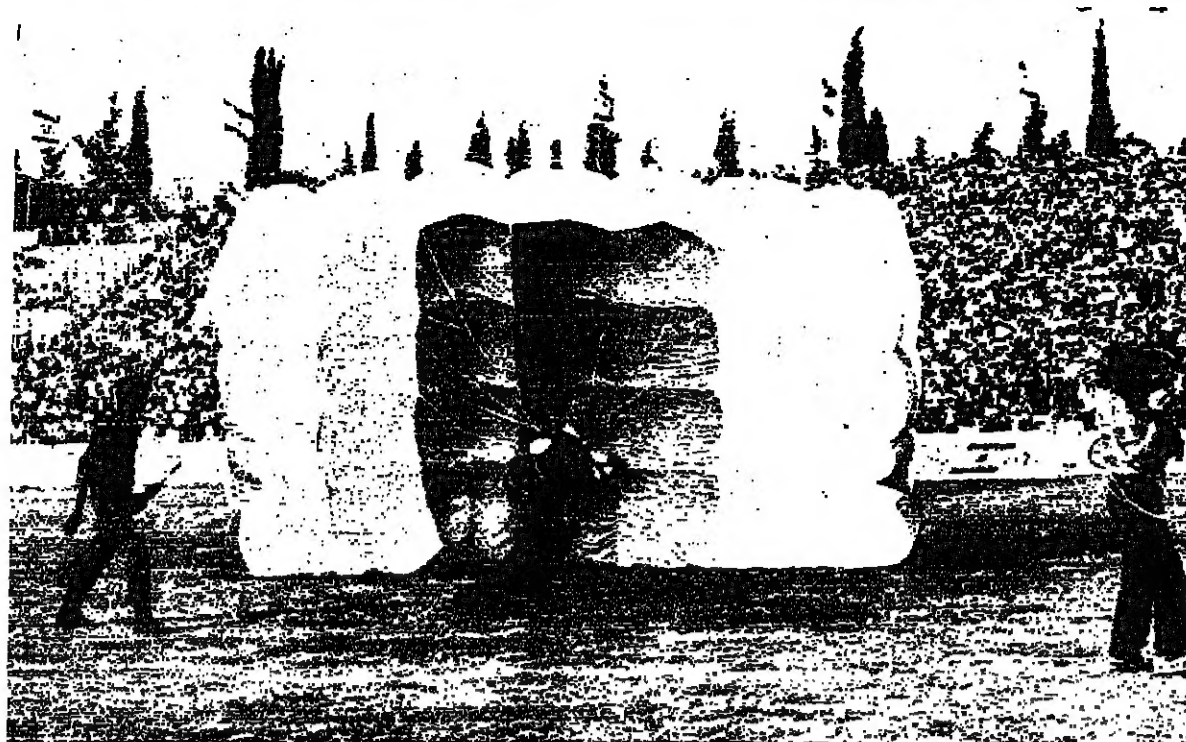
The fatal accident occurred when the driver of a semi-trailer from Kibbutz Afikim realized too late that traffic ahead of him had halted. His vehicle overturned when he tried to swerve and his 20-ton load of plywood crashed onto a car from Kibbutz Mesilot, trapping three persons inside. One passenger, who suffered severe injuries, was rescued from the car before it went up in flames. The remaining occupants, Avraham Arif, 40 and Hana Abdu, burned to death.

In the other five accidents, two persons were seriously hurt. The injuries of the others ranged from slight to medium.

In another accident, 18 persons were injured when a bus smashed into the wall of a youth hostel in Arad yesterday. The accident occurred when the bus, which was carrying elderly hikers from Haifa, lost its brakes.

It took firemen nearly two hours to rescue the driver. He was hospitalized at the Soroka Hospital in Beersheva, where his condition was described as moderate.

Seventeen passengers were treated for slight injuries at the local Magen David Adom station and then sent to Soroka Hospital.



A paratrooper lands in Ramat Gan stadium yesterday as part of the Independence Day programme. (Schwartz, Aloni, IPPA)

Conspirators sought 'mass Arab exodus' Seven more Jewish terror arrests

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A "mass exodus of Arabs" from the West Bank was the central motivation of the suspects in the alleged Jewish terror underground network, *The Jerusalem Post* has learned. In April 1982, they plotted a spectacular terror attack in East Jerusalem - apparently against political targets - in the hope it would force a diplomatic and security crisis and halt the final withdrawal from Sinai.

Investigators, accompanied by a number of the suspects, were to travel to the Ramallah area yesterday in order to reenact the bomb attack which injured Ramallah mayor Karim Khalaf four years ago, according to Itim. The Jewish underground has been connected to the car bomb attacks against Khalaf and two other Arab mayors.

Itim has also learned that one of the recently arrested suspects is an army major who has held a senior position in the Civil Administration, but this could not be confirmed.

Seven more suspects have been arrested since Saturday night, bringing the number of suspects in custody to 26. More arrests are expected, as security sources empha-

sized last night that "the investigation will go wherever it takes us."

The sources denied emphatically that there has been any political intervention preventing the arrest or questioning of anybody deemed necessary to interrogate.

One of the suspects, who with his guards was allowed to attend Independence Day celebrations at the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron, managed to hold a short conversation with some of his friends from Kiryat Arba.

"There's nothing to do. They photographed and documented us for years," he was overheard saying.

Immediately after the attack on the Islamic University of Hebron last summer in which four people were killed and some three dozen were wounded, security forces were reportedly on the trail of the perpetrators.

But the security forces decided at that time to refrain from making arrests, believing a combination of informants and other investigative methods would lead them to other conspirators.

Investigative sources have said that the intent of at least one of the network's cells was to "frighten the Palestinians into a mass exodus."

Another cell planned an attack in East Jerusalem in April 1982, hoping that its spectacular nature would force the government of then-premier Menachem Begin to at least postpone the final withdrawal from Sinai.

"They wanted to stop the peace process," said one source. "They would have gone after something political," said the source, indicating that one of the several daily newspapers published in the city could have been the target.

The sources also confirmed there was a plot to attack Birzeit University, but they refused to specify when that attack was supposed to have taken place.

That at least two cells appeared to have plotted separately indicates to the investigators that the network's leadership was fragmented. Investigative sources are now playing down reports of their search for a "brain behind the organization." But they do believe that some of those involved in the conspiracy played leadership roles. And they are not ruling out the possibility that knowledge of the conspiracy extended beyond the immediate membership.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Hammer raps ultranationalists Israel Prizes to Nahal and development towns

By GREER FAY CASHMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Education Minister Zevulun Hammer, taking part yesterday in the presentation of the Israel Prizes in Jerusalem, implicitly attacked the activities of suspected Jewish terrorists. "The transformation of nationalism into an absolute value," Hammer said, "is idol-worship." He added that such a transformation is alien to Jewish tradition and therefore "must be sharply condemned."

Nationalism for its own sake is liable to make its followers break the commandment that "thou shalt not kill," and to forget the Jewish tradition that all men are created in the divine likeness, Hammer said.

Israel Prizes in the fields of agricultural research, literature, history of science and theatre, were conferred in the Jerusalem Theatre by President Chaim Herzog in the presence of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Knesset Speaker Menachem Begin and Hammer, on Aron Bondi, Shlomo Rabikowitz, Yemima Avidar-Tschernomovitz, Moshe Yemer and Shmuel Rudensky, as well as on the Nahal (Fighting Pioneer Youth) and residents of the country's development towns.

Bondi has done valuable research in determining nutrition values in animal fodder, while Rabikowitz is an expert in soil analysis and has classified the types of soil across the country.

Hundreds of thousands of Israeli children have grown up on the stories of Yemima Avidar-Tschernomovitz, whose books have become classics in her own life-time. Her 41st book was published this week.

Moshe Yemer, an observant Jew, is a living bridge between religion and science, and a teacher, by example, of the reconciliation of conflicting philosophies.

Now acknowledged as a pillar of the Habimah Theatre, actor Shmuel Rudensky had to wait 17 years to be accepted there. Equally at home on both the Hebrew and the Yiddish stage, he has evoked laughter and tears from audiences in Israel and abroad.

For 35 years Nahal has been the nucleus of some 200 outposts and settlements and has strengthened and rehabilitated more than 200 other settlements. Nahal units have distinguished themselves in the wars of Israel, in securing the nation's borders and in educational and community work in development towns.

Residents of the country's development towns were honoured as the flag bearers of Zionist aspirations. Mostly immigrants who came here in the 1950s and 1960s to barren, underpopulated regions, they braved the unknown to create the foundations for a new spiritual, cultural and social infrastructure.



President Chaim Herzog (right) congratulates Israel Prize winner actor Shmuel Rudensky yesterday. At Herzog's right is Premier Yitzhak Shamir. (Scoop 80)

Shamir: underground is only a small group

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said last night that the so-called Jewish underground is really a small group of suspects. In an Independence Day interview on Kol Yisrael, the prime minister said he could not give any details about the investigation beyond what has already been publicized, and he fully trusts the General Security Service and its judgment.

"The faults of individuals must not be exploited in order to stain a large group of settlers, pioneers and fighters - people who dedicate themselves to the Land of Israel," the prime minister said.

He also cautioned the media and political groups against portraying scattered instances as if they were a general phenomenon.

Peace Now reacted to Shamir's statements by charging him with playing down the dangers posed by the Jewish underground. In a communiqué, the group called on the government to draw the correct conclusions from recent revelations and make sure that security matters remained in the hands of the proper forces.

In answer to a question whether the government's having turned a blind eye toward the protest actions at Yamit during the settlement's final days had contributed to the present situation, Shamir answered that the situation was not allowed to become violent and not a single soldier or policeman was hurt.

Shamir added that there have to be educational efforts to prevent further instances of violence which

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Israel's population totals 4,170,000

Jerusalem Post Staff

Israel's population totalled 4,170,000 on Independence Eve, a 2 per cent increase over last year, according to the Central Bureau of Statistics.

The population is made up of 3,452,000 Jews (83 per cent), 552,000 Moslems (13 per cent), 97,000 Christians (2.3 per cent) and 69,000 Druse and others (1.7 per cent).

Jerusalem to wait and see Berri accepts cabinet post for South Lebanon

Jerusalem Post Staff
and Agencies

Officials in Jerusalem yesterday said it was still too early to say what effect the Lebanese appointment of Shi'ite militia leader Nabih Berri as minister of state for Southern Lebanon and reconstruction would have on the Israeli-controlled South.

"Israel is in the South, and we will have to see what his approach will be," said the officials.

In Amal-controlled West Beirut, Berri's stronghold, the Moslem militiamen and their allies fired thousands of rounds into the air from rifles and machineguns to celebrate their leader's decision to join the Lebanese government.

Observers in Jerusalem cast doubt on whether Berri's influence or authority carried much weight in the South or, indeed, anywhere beyond the area of West Beirut controlled by his militiamen. The Shi'ite majority in the South, said the observers, are not ready to receive orders from Berri or from Khomeini-supporting extremists based elsewhere in Lebanon. The Shi'ites of Lebanon have many leaders, they said. Moreover, there are other non-Shi'ites in the South whose links with Berri are even more tenuous.

Lebanese President Amin Jemayel yesterday appointed Berri to the post after the Shi'ite leader made his being named responsible for the South a condition of joining the new national unity government in Beirut. Berri held a news conference at his home and announced his acceptance of the post.

The appointment came in a presidential decree following week-long efforts by the president and Prime Minister Rashid Karamah to convince Berri to join the half-Christian

and half-Moslem cabinet designed to steer Lebanon out of its on-going civil war.

But shortly after Karamah announced the new appointment, fighting broke out anew along Beirut's five-kilometre midcity "green line," and tank, rocket and artillery fire slammed into residential areas close to the front, police said.

The fighting picked up in the late afternoon after sniper bullets killed a Lebanese Army soldier in the Christian eastern sector. Police reported 13 others wounded.

Karamah emerged from a meeting with Jemayel at the presidential palace in Baabda to announce creation of the new post, added to Berri's original portfolios as minister of justice, electricity and water resources.

The appointment also was expected to bring another hold-out - Druse opposition leader Walid Jumblatt - into the cabinet.

Jumblatt had declared he would

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Gunboats under fire off Lebanese coast

TRIPOLI (Reuters). - Gunboats approached the north Lebanese coast yesterday and drew fire from Syrian artillery units based along the shore and in the nearby hills, eyewitnesses said.

They said three boats, believed to be Israeli, came in towards the shore close to the spot, about 35 kilometres north of Beirut, where Syrian troops captured three Israeli officials on May 1.

The boats withdrew after Syrian gunners along a one-km stretch of coastline sent salvos of shells crashing into the sea, eyewitnesses said.

Arafat gets Chinese pledge of more arms aid to PLO

PEKING. - Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat has secured Chinese commitment to supply more weapons to the Palestine Liberation Organization as well as continued political backing. Western sources here said yesterday.

But Arafat, at a press conference prior to his departure for North Korea, declined to discuss the issue of weapons.

Arafat yesterday met with China's top leader, Deng Xiaoping, who told the PLO chief that "you have gone through an arduous struggle and we recognize your very important task... justice is on your side."

Arafat arrived here on Saturday, on his fourth visit to China, and has had talks with Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang and President Li Xiannian. On Sunday he inspected Chinese weaponry, clambering to a tank after

watching an armoured division on training exercises.

Li was quoted by the official New China News Agency as telling Arafat that China fully supported a proposal by the PLO and Jordan for the convening of an international conference to discuss and help settle the Palestinian question.

Ahmed Mussa, a second secretary at the PLO's Peking mission, said on Saturday that China now supplies more arms to the PLO than the Soviet Union, including artillery and small arms.

He said the PLO leader wants more supplies from the Chinese, but would not elaborate.

Arafat received a 19-gun salute, normally reserved for heads of government, and a red carpet welcome outside central Peking's Great Hall of the People.

Sharon campaigning hard for No. 2 position

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. - Minister without portfolio Ariel Sharon is making near-frantic last-minute efforts to secure the number two slot on the Herut slate of Knesset candidates. Following last Thursday's upset vote in which he placed ninth.

The Herut Central Committee meets again tomorrow and by secret ballot will rank the 35 candidates chosen last week to head the party list. In the 1981 election only 25 of the first 35 candidates got into the Knesset because the Herut list is merged with that of the liberals, La'am and various independent candidates to form the Likud slate.

Sharon has reportedly redoubled his campaign efforts, which from the start have been more intensive than those of any other candidate in the party race. His supporters are contacting nearly all of the 1,000 central committee members and he is making a personal pitch as well.

The efforts of the Shamir and Levy camps are negligible, but individual candidates are lobbying for

themselves in this final and crucial round.

The Levy and Shamir camps were surprised at their own successes last week, and even more so at the blow dealt Sharon. Sources in both camps predicted a high place on the list for Sharon, particularly in view of his energetic electioneering.

Last week's vote was viewed as a popularity gauge. The rebuff Sharon received was explained in part as a backlash for his success a month ago, when he did better than expected in his bid for the party leadership. At that time he benefited from the low turnout. In the last vote, however, the attendance was greater.

Deputy Premier David Levy tomorrow will seek to be placed after Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir on the list. Both Shamir and Levy will try to ensure that Levy is followed by Defence Minister Moshe Arens to prevent a future Sharon claim to the defence portfolio. They will also attempt to rank Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad fourth. He finished seventh last week, but Shamir would like him in the leadership quartet.

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The weather at major Swissair destinations

6.5.84

MIN	C	F	MAX
AMSTERDAM	12	54	15
BRUSSELS	12	54	15
BUEENOS AIRES	12	54	15
CHICAGO	12	54	15
COPENHAGEN	12	54	15
FRANKFURT	12	54	15
GENEVA	12	54	15
HELSINKI	12	54	15
HONG KONG	12	54	15
PRINCE GEORGE	12	54	15
LEBON	12	54	15
LONDON	12	54	15
MADRID	12	54	15
MONTREAL	12	54	15
NEW YORK	12	54	15
OSLO	12	54	15
PARIS	12	54	15
RIO DE JANEIRO	12	54	15
SAO PAULO	12	54	15
STOCKHOLM	12	54	15
TOKYO	12	54	15
TORONTO	12	54	15
ZURICH	12	54	15

Forecast: Partly cloudy with a fall in temperatures.

THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy with a fall in temperatures.

Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Min-Max
Jerusalem	60	11-25
Golan	25	10-23
Nahariya	30	12-24
Safed	30	16--
Haifa Port	28	16--
Tiberias	28	22-32
Nazareth	26	13-27
Afula	34	13-27
Shomron	75	14-26
Tel Aviv	69	13-29
B-G Airport	19	14-33
Jericho	74	16-28
Gaza	16	14-28
Beersheba	16	19-36
Eilat	16	19-36

IBM (Israel) head David Cohen, 57

TEL AVIV (Itim). - David Cohen, general manager of IBM (Israel), died unexpectedly at his home here Sunday evening. He was 57.

Cohen joined IBM in 1963 and in 1967 was appointed to the position he held at the time of his death. He received the IBM (Europe) Outstanding Achievement Award in 1983 and in the same year was elected president of the U.S.-Israel Chamber of Commerce. He served in the pre-state Haganah.

Cohen was married with two children.

Leader of Modgich hassidim dies at 79

TEL AVIV. - Rabbi Shmuel Eliyahu Taub, head of the Modgich house of Modgich, died here on Sunday and was buried on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. Taub, who was a member of the Council of Tora Sages, was 79.

He was known as a composer of hassidic melodies. He founded a yeshiva in Bnei Brak. After the funeral attended by thousands of mourners, his son, Rabbi Israel Dan Taub, was crowned head of the Modgich hassidim.

New York Stock Exchange

DJ 30	1167.73	-1.57
Transport	506.37	-1.3
Utilities	126.49	0
Volume	70,192,500	
DJ LIST		
Alcoa	34 1/2	+1/2
Amgen	52 1/2	+1/2
Amer. Brd.	58 1/2	+1/2
Amer. Can.	44 1/2	+1/2
Amer. Int.	30 1/2	+1/2
Amer. T. & T.	16 1/2	+1/2
Bath & S.	23 1/2	+1/2
Chrysler	23 1/2	+1/2
D. Pont.	40 1/2	+1/2
East Kodak	65 1/2	+1/2
Exxon	54 1/2	+1/2
Gen. Elec.	42 1/2	+1/2
Gen. Food	54 1/2	+1/2
Gen. Motors	64 1/2	+1/2
Goldman	28 1/2	+1/2
Int'l. Bus.	113 1/2	+1/2
Int'l. Har.	70 1/2	+1/2
Int'l. Paper	52 1/2	+1/2
Int'l. Steel	12 1/2	+1/2
Owen	36 1/2	+1/2
Procter Gam.	47 1/2	+1/2
Sears	31 1/2	+1/2
Sid. Co. L.	28 1/2	+1/2
Telcel	40 1/2	+1/2

Mazel Tov to

TIFFANY JILL AVIVA WOOLF

and to her parents, Bob and Anne Joy Woolf, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts

on the occasion of her 13th birthday, May 7, 1984 and her Bat Mitzva on Saturday, May 12, 1984.

Tiffany was a birthday gift from Heaven to her paternal grandmother, the late Anna R. Woolf of Boston, prominent realtor and philanthropist.

From "all in the family" and the Langer-Woolf Family Mitzva Foundation, 1 Mapu St. Jerusalem and Hull, Massachusetts

HOME NEWS

Independence Day gripes of a bagel salesman

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The heavy-set, middle-aged man was standing behind an oil cloth-covered table at one of the entrances to the Ramat Gan stadium. The table was covered with bagels, pitot and humus and soft drinks which he was selling, and the fat wad of 500 and 100 shekel bills in his palm suggested he had hit the jackpot.

But Abraham Cohen was not happy. "I would give up my TV and video sets if I could only live like a human being and not work on the holidays just to beef up my salary," he told *The Jerusalem Post*.

The goods weren't his, he said. He was merely a "contractor" making only a small profit.

Israel's 36th anniversary found Israeli-born Cohen concerned mainly with the war in Lebanon and the economic situation.

The situation in Lebanon is on his mind the most, Cohen said. His family has already suffered in Israel's wars, he added. He said his own hearing was impaired during the

1956 Sinai campaign so he was transferred to the Civil Defence.

His brother-in-law was killed in Nablus in the Six Day War and his cousin's husband was killed near the Suez Canal.

The war in Lebanon is not only a military disaster, Cohen said. "It ruined us economically."

"Every day your wages go up - but when you go out to buy you see they are worth nothing...we get more pieces of paper, that's all."

Cohen, whose main job is in the Tel Aviv municipality's sanitation department, said his salary lasts him only two weeks a month.

He said his daughter, who is in the army, is about to get married. "You want to rent a wedding hall and a band and they talk to you in dollars - as though we earn dollars."

"Take national insurance," he continued. "They stop paying for a child once he enters the army. But if you don't give your daughter money she will hitch ride."

Cohen and I sat talking on juice cartons as he recalled his life in Iraq

which he left in 1950 at age 17. It hadn't been bad. There, he said somewhat wistfully, "we lived next to Arabs and the establishment of Israel did not change their attitude towards us. Maybe in their hearts something changed - as it did in mine - but they didn't show it."

"We left via Iran - we had Iranian citizenship - and they came to say good-bye," he recalled.

"Surely your standard of living has improved in Israel," I suggested.

Cohen dismissed that. He said he had recently seen Iraqi movies. "You see the clothes, the homes - there the standard of living improved too. Where didn't it improve?" he asked.

Despite all the gripes and fond memories of Iraq, Cohen said he regarded Independence Day as the "best holiday - certainly as important as Pessah. Pessah was an independence we did not experience, and this is one we did," he said.

Just then, a boy came up and asked for humus in a pitta, and Cohen went back to work.

ELECTIONS 84

Signals show that Hammer may run with Matzad list

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Rabbi Haim Druckman's Matzad Party has received signals during the past few days that Education Minister Zevulun Hammer is prepared to dump Interior Minister Yosef Burg and run on a joint list with Matzad.

Such a list, with Druckman in first place and Hammer second, might even succeed in using the National Religious Party name.

A tentative working list has Professor Avner Sciaky in third place; a Matzad Sephardi (Rabbi Yitzhak Levy or Aharon Cohen) in fourth; Hanan or Porat fifth; Yehuda Ben-

Meir sixth and Yosef Shapira seventh.

One point of contention is Hammer's effort to have Ben-Meir advanced on the list.

Burg and Rafael Ben-Natan of the NRP's Lamifne faction are also loath to accept as final the decision last Thursday of the Matzad council to run a separate list, particularly because Burg and Ben-Natan are aware of the Hammer-Matzad talks.

Hanan Porat has definitely decided to run with Matzad and is not making an issue of his place on the list.

Labour leads Likud 55 to 40, poll finds

Jerusalem Post Staff

With the Knesset elections 11 weeks away, the Labour Party has increased its lead over the Likud according to a poll published on Sunday.

If elections were held today, Labour would win 55 Knesset seats and the Likud 40, the poll in the daily *Yediot Aharonot* said.

The poll, conducted by the Dahaf agency, surveyed 1,244 voters. In a survey a month ago, Labour was given 52 seats and Likud 41.

Parties to the left of Labour would get five seats, while centrist parties would get six, the latest poll found.

The poll indicated that Labour could easily win a Knesset majority without the aid of the religious parties.

Palestinians urged to return to West Bank

KUWAIT (AP). - The Palestine Liberation Organization has called on Palestinian residents in the Gulf region who hold travel permits from the Israeli authorities to return to the West Bank and Gaza before the end of July and remain there.

Salim Zannoun, the representative of the PLO's main terrorist organization Fatah in the Gulf, said

yesterday that this was necessary to "undercut the arbitrary plans of the (Israeli) occupation forces to empty the two regions of their legitimate inhabitants."

Israel has reportedly made it known that it will discontinue as of July 30 issuing travel permits to Palestinians abroad to visit their kin in the West Bank and Gaza.

'Soviet arms—from Rumania to Israel to U.S.'

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. - Israel is reported to have obtained advanced Soviet-made military equipment from Rumania and then passed it along to the U.S. for testing.

The *Chicago Tribune*, in reporting this, quoted an unnamed "Capitol Hill source who follows such matters for a member of the (U.S.) House Armed Services Committee."

The newspaper said "Israeli agents" were "widely believed in intelligence circles" to have acquired Soviet-made armoured personnel carriers, designated MTLB's, "through their sources in Rumania."

"This 'Rumanian connection' has apparently brought other Soviet weaponry to the Mossad agents, who capitalized on their rapport with that Soviet-bloc country's Jewish community and Rumania's lack of hard cash to make the acquisitions," the newspaper continued.

"More recently," it said, "agents of Mossad, the

Israeli intelligence force, carried captured Soviet ZSU-23 anti-aircraft guns to Texas for testing by American Defence companies."

The *Tribune* article focused on how the U.S. has obtained sensitive Soviet military equipment over the years. "Much of this equipment comes from the Israelis who captured it in Middle East combat in 1967, 1973 and 1982," it said.

The U.S. has also obtained Soviet-made arms from Egypt and China, including MiG-21 and MiG-23 fighters, according to the account. The late Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, it said, had personally authorized the transfer of the aircraft to the Central Intelligence Agency.

"At least one of these MiGs was disassembled, placed in crates and shipped to the U.S. in the holds of cargo jets from a landing field in the Egyptian desert," the unnamed "Capitol Hill" source was quoted as having said.



Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek greets Greek Orthodox cleric yesterday at an Independence Day reception given by the mayor and Mrs. Kollek at the Citadel. (Vera Euzon)

SHAMIR

(Continued from Page One)

could affect the nation's existence.

Shamir also said Israel's treatment of captured terrorists is a matter of law, not of changing policy. He defended the decision to close the newspaper *Hadashot* (News) for printing reports on the decision to investigate the two terrorists' deaths.

make great efforts to fight terrorism, he went on. This underground movement diverted these efforts and energies from their important targets.

Speaking about aggressive announcements coming out of Damascus, Levy said: "We hear aggressive behaviour in their statements but in the field there is no evidence of them. On a practical level there is no sign or indication that any change is about to occur in Syrian activities."

TEL AVIV. - Israel Defence Forces Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy spoke out against the Jewish underground in a television interview on Independence Day Eve.

He said he viewed the underground in a grave light, and was particularly upset by the use of IDF weapons for the wrong purposes.

The fact that the underground included IDF reserve officers didn't make any difference, said Levy, since all Israelis were army members.

The IDF and other security forces

Turning to Lebanon, Levy said there have been and will be changes in IDF deployment. These are concerned with establishing the deployment that most effectively serves Israel's needs, he said. "Assessments of the situation today allow for such changes (of deployment) which require... political approval," he said. Levy said that at the moment the IDF is not thinking in terms of withdrawing from urban centres, such as Sidon.

Shamir: Israel will fight, but always seeks peace

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said at the Remembrance Day ceremony Sunday at the military cemetery on Mount Herzl in Jerusalem that Israel has always sought peace and does not want to live by the sword.

"We have always chosen life, even when we had to fight with arms, and we will continue to do so," Shamir declared. He added that the readiness to fight for our freedom is intertwined with our aspiration and longing for peace.

President Chaim Herzog attended the ceremony.

At the entrance to the cemetery, Gad Golan, of Moshav Yeha in the Negev, handed out a truck-load of flowers to bereaved families. This was the second consecutive Remembrance Day that Golan has distributed at the cemetery flowers collected from farmers near his

moshav.

Speaking at a ceremony at the military cemetery in Haifa, Defence Minister Moshe Arens said "this is a difficult time of pain." The feeling of mourning is shared by us all, he told the mourners.

"Remembrance Day is also a day of pride, fulfillment and victory," he continued. "We sometimes regard our achievements lightly. It is worthwhile recalling how the nation has knitted a social fabric uniting Jews, Druse, Moslems and Christians and has laid the foundations for industry and agriculture."

Deputy Prime Minister David Levy, speaking at a ceremony in Kiryat Shmona, said that "even though we despise war, we must nurture our military strength and love the army because it is the guarantor of our security and existence."

A remembrance ceremony for fallen Druse was held at the military section of the Ushiya cemetery. Former finance minister Yoram Aridor said that "when Druse and Jewish blood are spilled together in Israel's wars, nothing can ever come between the two peoples." (Itim)

TERROR

(Continued from Page One)

The investigators are concentrating on the group and its activities, but the investigation has created leads - at least concerning weapons supplies - that lead to the IDF, whether in the context of the regional defence framework instituted in the territories by former chief-of-staff Rafael Eitan, or IDF bases themselves.

Gush Emunim settlement leader Rabbi Moshe Levinger yesterday blamed the "shortcomings of the government" for the existence of the underground. Speaking at Independence Day celebrations at Kiryat Arba, Levinger said it was "bad policy" that led to the present relations between Jews and Arabs in the territories.

On the other hand, Labour MK Yossi Sarid said last night that as long as Gush Emunim does not condemn the underground phenomenon, Israel will encounter such things in the future.

Settlers reject Herzog remarks

Jerusalem Post Staff

HEBRON. - The Council of Jewish settlements in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip condemned President Chaim Herzog yesterday for remarks suggesting some of them were traitors and blamed the government for increasing hatred between Jews and Arabs in the territories.

Referring to growing evidence of a Jewish terrorist network in the West Bank, Herzog lashed out in an address inaugurating Independence Day. "The events that were discovered recently were the fruit of mad minds. Unbalanced men would have brought disaster on the people of Israel, the state and the Zionist enterprise. Treasonous acts like these endanger the independence that we celebrate today," Herzog said.

The council issued a statement saying that Herzog's remarks were "a pointed judgement against men who have not been charged, made on Independence Day which symbolizes the unity of the people above its ideological camps."

SUNSHINE

(Continued from Page One)

national park reported a record crowd of 200,000 visitors during the day, thousands visited the Druse villages on Mount Carmel, others crowded the beaches and a cloud of smoke from thousands of barbecues covered the mountain.

One of the main attractions was the navy base in the port which was crowded by tens of thousands of visitors throughout the day. The navy put craft and weapons on display and the public was allowed on board most of the ships. An unexpected bonus was the glimpse of the Navy's newest and still secret hydrofoil missile boat, the *Shimrit*, which was docked on the slipway. The *Shimrit*, built in the U.S., is one of two of her class in the Navy service. The other one was built by Israel Shipyard.

In IDF bases, stadiums and city centres all over the country the crowds came to celebrate, both yesterday and on Sunday night. Police reported very little trouble.

(Compiled from reports by Joshua Billant, Roy Isaacowitz, Ya'akov Friedler and Itim.)

IBM House mourns and is shocked by the sudden death of

DAVID COHEN

general manager of IBM Israel and president of the U.S.-Israel Chamber of Commerce

Our heart-felt condolences to Zivia, Ayal and Tamar in their profound grief.

The coffin will be placed in the square at IBM House on Sderot Shaul Hamelekh, at the corner of Rehov Weizman, Tel Aviv, tomorrow Wednesday ז' באייר תשמ"ד 9 May 1984 at 1 p.m.

The funeral will leave for the Kiryat Shaul cemetery at 2 p.m.

Buses for use by the mourners will depart from the IBM House in Tel Aviv.

The Israel-America Chamber of Commerce and Industry is deeply grieved at the untimely passing of its president

DAVID COHEN

and expresses heartfelt condolences to the family.

The Executive Committee, The Board of Directors and Chamber Members

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Dedication Ceremony of the Grave in memory of

FREDDIE BOLLE

Amsterdam, Holland

will take place in the Forest of Kfar Zecharia on Monday, May 14, 1984.

Meeting Place at the "Migash Shimshon" petrol station at 10.30 a.m.

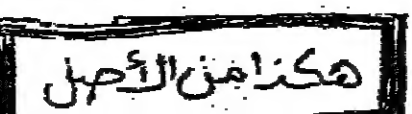
A bus will leave from the JNF Head office.

For further information please call, Tel. 02-228250.

The ninth annual joint memorial service for the brothers

Major ADAM and Major GIDEON WEILER

will be held this afternoon, Tuesday, May 8, 1984, at 4.00 p.m. at the Military Cemetery, Mt. Herzl, Jerusalem. We will meet at 3.45 p.m. at the entrance to the cemetery. The Family.



Israeli gets perfect score to win World Bible Quiz

By GREER FAY CASHMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel scored a major victory in the 21st annual World Jewish Youth Bible Quiz yesterday, with Benjamin Moskovitch, 13, a Yeshivat Heder pupil at Keren Yotam and previous Israeli Bible champion, achieving a perfect 100 points. The other two Israeli finalists — Izhak Asraf, 17, a pupil at Midreshet Noam, Pardes Hanna, and Itai Elitzur, 16, of Yeshivat Nativ Meir, Jerusalem — gained 95 and 94 points, respectively.

Hillel Novitsky, 14, one of the youngest contestants and a pupil at Flatbush Yeshiva, New York, came out ahead of Moskovitch at last week's Diaspora finals in Ashkelon,

where he scored 100 points.

Officials of the Jewish Agency's Department of Education and Culture in the Diaspora, one of the main organizing bodies of the quiz, tipped Novitsky to give a repeat performance of his Ashkelon success.

He came close, attaining the second highest score of 96 points. It was his second attempt to win the quiz. He was a contestant two years ago when he finished ninth.

This time he applied himself more seriously, although not to the extent of sacrificing other interests. "Basically," he told *The Jerusalem Post*, "there's a lot of time that a person wastes. You learn to eliminate that waste some time in your life, and this has speeded up the process."

Novitsky will not be able to make another attempt for the crown of biblical knowledge. Rules do not allow him to compete more than twice. Now he is concentrating on Talmud and mathematics which is his alternate great love. He has already won several quiz contests in mathematics in the U.S. and is hoping for a Talmud quiz along the same lines as the Bible Quiz.

The youngest contestant in the quiz, Yael Emergi, 13, of Spain, did not make it to the finals. She attends a co-educational Jewish Day School in Barcelona. The school was established 10 years ago and has 120 pupils. Classes are in the eighth grade. Emergi was at a disadvantage because her school does not put

much emphasis on Bible studies. There is a stronger thrust towards literature and Jewish history.

Holland was represented for the first time. There was no preliminary contest in Holland to give Shimon Van, 17, some idea of what was in store for him. He studied with a private teacher in Amsterdam for six months to prepare for the quiz, but did not reach the finals.

Throughout the two-and-a-half quarter hour finals yesterday TV viewers were treated to generous glimpses of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Interior Minister Yosef Burg and Education Minister Zevulun Hammer, in spite of the ban on showing candidates for the next Knesset.

Lewis: Every year better

By GREER FAY CASHMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

"Every year we're here is more rewarding than the one before," U.S. Ambassador Samuel Lewis, dean of the diplomatic corps here, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday, at the traditional Independence Day reception for diplomats hosted by President and Mrs. Chaim Herzog.

Lewis, celebrating his seventh anniversary in Israel, said this was the most beautiful Independence Day he could remember. "The spirit is good and optimistic," he said.

Asked how much longer his posting would be extended, Lewis was

non-committal, but promised "we'll be here a while longer. We'll stay as long as we can."

Two of the most frequent topics aired by the hundreds of guests at the informal garden reception were the future of Israel's relations with Egypt and the extent of Jewish terrorism.

Lack of adequate parking facilities within comfortable walking distance of the presidential residence prompted many guests to test their diplomatic immunity by double parking on Rehov Hanasi and blocking traffic.

'U.S. helped Israel destroy Syrian jets in 1982'

LONDON (AP). — During Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, a U.S. aircraft carrier helped direct the air battle which destroyed an estimated 108 Syrian aircraft. *The Observer* reported on Sunday.

The weekly, quoting an unidentified "senior American military source," said in a Cairo-dated report that the plane — a flying radar station — patrolled over the Mediterranean,

about 240km. from the Lebanese coast.

It tracked all aircraft taking off from Syrian bases and transmitted the information to Israeli ground control so that Israeli fighters could intercept the Syrian planes, the report said.

Israel claimed that it lost no aircraft while destroying the Syrian planes in three days, June 7 to 9.



Benjamin Moskovitch (left), winner of the World Jewish Youth Bible Quiz, receives prizes yesterday in Jerusalem from Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. Centre is Jewish Agency Chairman Arye Dulzin. (Rahamim Israeli)

Arab official in Haifa satisfied to be an Israeli

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER

HAIFA. — For the first time this Independence Day, Salim Joubran, the 64-year-old Labour Council official on Arab affairs, did not attend the official celebrations in this city.

He gathered his family and friends, packed food, a shish-besh (backgammon) board and a bottle of arak, which was made in the distillery of his Ramallah cousin, and joined thousands of other Israelis for a picnic in the woods.

But unlike many other Israelis, Joubran, a native of Caesarea who has been living in Haifa since 1940, is not disappointed at the way the state has turned out. Naturally, he is concerned with the point of view of the Arabs of Israel, and optimistically believes "time will achieve what common sense doesn't."

Already, despite some recent polarization on both sides, he believes that the Arabs of Israel consider themselves as Israeli and "very few if any" would leave to live in a Palestinian state if one were established.

"We know very well that Israeli democracy and the labour movement can be found in no other country in this region," he told *The Jerusalem Post*.

Joubran has for the past 30 years been a consistent advocate of compulsory military service for Arab youths, and still stands by his opinion that "those who would refuse to serve Israel should leave Israel because there is no room for them." He feels that had his advice been taken "things might be different now."

But "as I am not dense," he knows that "you might not now trust us in the army, so call us up for national service. We want equal rights and we must share equal duties, but the state still does not enable us to carry out the duties," he said.

In the late nineteen-fifties he was instrumental in the voluntary enlistment of Christian Arabs, some of whom were wounded in the service of the state, but the scheme petered out "because they did not get the favourable discrimination they expected on demobilization."

Joubran is adamant in his opposition to Jews getting greater National Insurance benefits for their families because they served in the army. "Let the Defence Ministry pay them, but we pay the same insurance premiums and should get the same benefits."

A member of the Greek Orthodox community, and former teacher, Joubran was also in-

strumental in the establishment of Haifa's Greek Orthodox high school "the Reali of the Arabs" 30 years ago.

In 1982 he received the Cross of the Holy Sepulchre from the patriarch in recognition. He was also awarded the first Mayor of Haifa Prize for fostering Jewish-Arab understanding in his work for the Beit Hagafen Jewish-Arab Centre.

He has been sentenced to death five times for his work by the Syrian regime and the Palestinian organizations there. "After that I'm not afraid to speak my mind," he smiled.

His son left to study electronics in the U.S. 17 years ago and is now an engineer there. He comes home every summer "and would jump at the chance to return if he could get a job here," which, because most Israeli electronics factories work for defence, he cannot. The elder Joubran also has three daughters, one of whom is completing her interior design studies in New York and will then return.

"We Arabs of Israel feel we are an integral part of the country. Of course we feel we are *mekupach* (underprivileged), like all Jewish groups do, whether they're *Sephardim* or new immigrants or veterans. But time blunts these feelings," he said.

'Cast your vote for settling the Arava'

By ELIAT (Itim). — Kibbutzniks and moshavniks from settlements in the Arava handed out broadsheets to hundreds of cars at junctions and roadblocks along the highway to Eilat in a campaign that began on Saturday to make the development of the Arava an election issue.

The broadsheet notes that only about 2,000 people, in 16 settlements, live in the 200 kilometre-long "Arava, and states that, "it has always been considered more urgent and important to develop other areas of the country — the Golan Heights, the Yamit district and now Judea and Samaria."

The Arava has always had to

sist. But the people of the Arava are sick of waiting. Now that you have made the long journey here... you understand the meaning of the fact that only Israel's northern part is settled.

"The Arava is the land bridge between the Moslem west and the Moslem east, and if an attempt is ever made from either side or from both at once to 'take' this bridge, there will be no one to stop them."

The broadsheet concludes by urging support in the coming Knesset elections for those parties that attach priority to developing the Arava.

Shostak, Modan to attend WHO meeting in Geneva

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Health Minister Eliezer Shostak and the ministry's director-general, Professor Baruch Modan, left yesterday for Geneva to attend the International Health Congress of the World Health Organization (WHO). The minister will address the

assembly on the subject of national insurance for the aged and chronically ill, outlining the plan adopted by Israel.

Israel was lauded two years ago by WHO for its record in bringing practical solutions to acute problems to the attention of world health congresses.

Golani supporters to form association

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — A public meeting is to be held in Acre today at 6 o'clock tonight to establish a Friends of the Golani Brigade Association.

A spokeswoman for the group said the organization would attempt

to forge close links with families of brigade members killed in the line of duty, visit wounded soldiers in hospitals and convalescent homes, and help organize various events, including demobilization and end-of-course parties.

NY mayor slams Soviets over Jews

NEW YORK (AP). — New York City Mayor Edward Koch, in an impassioned speech to 200,000 people at a demonstration on Sunday showing solidarity for Soviet Jews, attacked the Soviet Union as "a monster nation" which he said "eats its own people."

Koch criticized the Soviet leadership, saying it pursues anti-semitic policies and has refused emigration to the 400,000 of the 2.5 million Jews in the Soviet Union who have applied to leave.

The enthusiastic crowd, overflowing Dan Hamarskold Plaza near the UN headquarters, waved signs saying "Let my people go" as they cheered the anti-Soviet rhetoric.

Koch mocked the Soviets' new leader, Konstantin Chernenko, for writing a book called *Human Rights in Soviet Society*.

They said 20 Jews fighting for the right to emigrate or other rights are in prison or labour camps.

Shinui: Knesset should denounce Jewish terror

Jerusalem Post Staff

The Knesset plenum should open its session next week with a resolution denouncing the Jewish underground, a Shinui spokesman said yesterday.

He added that a resolution by all Knesset factions expressing repugnance for acts such as the attempted bombing of Arab buses is of supreme public and educational importance.

Israeli flag defiled in village near Acre

Jerusalem Post Staff

An Israeli flag was defiled and a PLO flag was hoisted in two separate incidents yesterday. No arrests have been made.

In the village of Kabul, near Acre, unidentified persons took down the Israeli flag from atop the local council building and defiled it.

In the Western Galilee village of Arraba, a PLO flag was raised between Israeli flags at the local water pool. (Itim)



Representatives of the 143 outstanding soldiers honoured yesterday present IS21,000 for the soldier's welfare fund to Chief-of-Staff Moshe Levy. Seated to Levy's right are Mrs. Aura Herzog, President Chaim Herzog and Defence Minister Moshe Arens. Standing behind them are the surviving commanders from the War for Independence. (Rahamim Israeli)

Outstanding IDF soldiers honoured

By LAWRENCE RIFKIN
Special to The Jerusalem Post

A total of 143 outstanding Israel Defence Forces soldiers were brought together with the surviving IDF commanders from the War of Independence, during ceremonies yesterday at Beit Hanassi.

President Chaim Herzog welcomed the 35 veteran brigade and staff commanders at an emotional reception prior to the annual awards presentation to the outstanding soldiers.

Among those present were the first Air Force commander, Aharon Remez, the Navy's first commander, Paul Shulman and the 1948 commanders of the Givati Brigade, Shimon Avidan, and the Yiftah Brigade, Mula Cohen.

Herzog noted that 21 other senior commanders had died since the War of Independence.

The president told the outstanding soldiers that the veterans looked

upon them as the present carriers of the torch which they themselves had once taken forth.

The 143 young men and women, from all branches of the IDF, were cited for exemplary service. Recommendations by their commanders for actions "above and beyond the call of duty" referred to the handicapped who volunteered for army service despite having been exempted, those who dedicate even their off-duty hours to their army jobs and those who simply try the hardest.

One of the soldiers honoured was Private Alon Ben-Avraham, a 24-year-old machine gunner in the Golani Brigade. Ben-Avraham, who came to Israel from California five years ago, said he thought he was chosen not only because he helps others, but because he actually enjoys what he is doing.

"The army gives you a chance to go out and prove yourself every day," he said, "and I love challenges." He added that he had been

chosen his unit's outstanding soldier twice before while still in basic training.

Ben-Avraham said he first came to Israel on the advice of his brother who had come to see the "war-torn Middle East." The Golani soldier added that he had converted from Catholicism after he had been here a short time.

When asked why, he answered: "I wanted to be part of the land, part of the people. Judaism is the basis of the other great religions. It made sense to me. I can't say I've read a lot of books, but I just had a feeling about it," he continued. "We have to go by what we feel."

Ben-Avraham, who has served in his elite infantry unit for 15 months, next week begins a squad leader course. He plans to attend officer school, not only to become a commander, but also to make up for the shorter period he is required to serve because of his age.

German court: 'Jews out' incites racism

BONN (JTA). — In a highly contested verdict the West German Constitutional Court, the Bundesgerichtshof in Karlsruhe, has ruled that using the slogan "Jews out" (Juden Raus) should be legally considered as an incitement to racial discrimination while using the slogan "Turks out" should not necessarily be so.

The court said the persecution of the Jews by the Nazis makes it obvious that the slogan "Jews out," accompanied with Swastikas, was a clear call to violence and to terror measures. But this does not apply necessarily to the slogan "Turks out."

Of course, the court said, the contents of the slogan clearly implies that the Turks, as foreigners, are being called upon to leave the country. But in this case, there are no generally known experiences that would indicate beyond any doubt that the call means that violence and terror are to be used in order to get the aliens out of the country.

The West German news media, including West German state-owned television, on Sunday put critical questions to the highest court in the country. And the tenor of those reports seems to imply that double measures had been applied by the judges.

The decision was taken in the case of a 30-year-old neo-Nazi who

appealed against a verdict of a lower court. The latter sent the man to 26 months in prison for various offences, including daubing walls with both above mentioned slogans.

The appeal was successful, with the higher court sending the case to the lower one for reconsideration.

Attention here was not given to the case as such but to the decision that the slogan calling for expelling the Jews from this country is seen by the court as more of an offence than the one calling for expelling the Turks.

There are only 30,000 Jews in Germany, and more than two million Turks.

Lawyer of rape suspect: Client mentally ill

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV (Itim). — The attorney for a man suspected of raping a 16-year-old Bat Yam girl told the magistrate's court here on Sunday that his client is mentally unbalanced and that a confession he gave to police, as well as a re-enactment of the crime in which he participated, should not be accepted by the court.

The suspect, 24, was arrested 10 days ago after allegedly performing an indecent act on another Bat Yam girl. During interrogation, police began to suspect that he was guilty of the rape, which took place a month ago.

The judge ordered the suspect's remand extended for three days, during which time police will have to tell the court what further investigation is planned.

2nd officer refuses to judge Assaf Hafetz

Jerusalem Post Reporter

ACRE (Itim). — Another high-ranking police officer has refused to serve as a judge on the police panel which is to try Nitzav Mishne Assaf Hafetz, the suspended head of the Tel Aviv District's Central Unit for allegedly leaking classified information to the press.

Nitzav Mishne Meir Sadeh, head of the Galilee District, refused to serve, saying that his absence during the trial was liable to disrupt the workings of his district.

The president of the police disciplinary court which is to hear Hafetz's case, Nitzav David Kraus, also disqualified himself from serving.

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800 laboratory workers begin strike today

By D'VORA BEN SHAUL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Work in all government hospital and clinic laboratories will be disrupted from eight o'clock this morning when the more than 800 laboratory workers of the Microbiologist's Union begin an open-ended strike to press their demands.

The workers, who held a one-day warning strike a month ago, are insisting that the Treasury grant them the same wage increments given earlier this year to the 5,000 workers in the service and administrative sections of the Health Ministry's work force. Those 5,000 struck to enforce their demand to bring their pay in line with salaries paid to workers in the Histadrut's Kupat Holim Clalit hospitals.

Yitzhak Shomron, senior aide to Health Minister Eliezer Shostak told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that the ministry feels that the Microbiologist's Union strike is unjustified and questions its legality. Shomron said the ministry has already applied to the Labour Court for an injunction to terminate the strike.

During the strike no laboratory tests will be performed except for emergency blood typing and cross-match when transfusions are required, and those emergency tests which might be termed a matter of life and death.

Last night the 700 worker Biochemists Union announced it was joining the strike, bringing the total number of strikers to some 1,500.

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HAIFA MUNICIPALITY

welcomes participants in the annual meeting of the Board of Governors, and wishes the University of Haifa continued success in its great endeavours

Ariel Gurel
Mayor of Haifa

Communicated

Annual World Meeting of Emunah

Meeting the growing demand for its services and the changing image of religious women were two of the themes that dominated the Annual World Meeting of Emunah the World Religious Zionist Women's Organization held April 30—May 1 in Jerusalem.

Representatives of the movement, which has chapters in 17 countries, dealt with a busy agenda, ranging from the extension of its networks of daycares, centres, nurseries and highschools, to its stands on national issues, as well as a programme for combating assimilation.

Newly elected Israeli chairman Sarah Stern-Katan reported on the emergence of a new vanguard of young Emunah women, many graduates of Emunah's programmes in development towns and new settlements. Reports were presented from France, Uruguay, Argentina, Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, United States, Australia, Canada, South Africa, Switzerland and Mexico, in the presence of World Emunah president Rabbinit Zila Goren and World Chairman Eva Adelman. Representatives used simultaneous translation equipment to facilitate discussion. The reports revealed that there was a trend for Emunah chapters to incorporate within their groups women who did not have a traditional upbringing but were eager to strengthen their Jewish family life.

One highlight of the meeting was Brazil's report of its rapid growth. Emunah's key role in absorbing the children of Ethiopian immigrants was noted. Plans were made for a South American convention in July, a European convention in September and a World Emunah Convention in Jerusalem in 1985.

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Salvadorans await results of vote

SAN SALVADOR. — Hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans streamed to the polls on Sunday to elect a new president, despite scattered guerrilla attacks.

In Ecuador, Leon Febres Cordero, a conservative, emerged victorious from a presidential runoff and in Panama, both government and opposition parties claimed to be in the lead as results trickled in from the country's first presidential elections after 16 years of military-backed rule.

In El Salvador, a survey of voters leaving the polls, conducted by the U.S.-based Spanish International television network, gave Jose Napoleón Duarte, the moderate Christian Democrat, 54 per cent of the vote against 46 per cent for Roberto D'Aubuisson, candidate of the ultra-right, Republican Nationalist Alliance.

Leftists boycotted the election, dismissing it as a farce and saying the only way to hold a fair vote is by

negotiating a share of power first. The Spanish network poll was based on interviews with 2,800 voters in nine of the 14 provinces of El Salvador, and a spokesman for the network said the poll had a 4 per cent margin of error.

D'Aubuisson, interviewed at his election headquarters, also claimed to be winning with 55 per cent of the vote.

Duarte proposes a national conciliation, including talks with rebels, to end the 4½-year-old war. D'Aubuisson says the leftist guerrillas must be crushed militarily.

In Ecuador, Febres, committed to trying to revive Ecuador's faltering economy, emerged the winner yesterday in a presidential runoff with moderate leftist lawyer Rodrigo Borja. He said Ecuadorians would have to get to work "to rebuild the country."

With the vote count from Sunday's elections virtually complete, Febres held 52.08 per cent against

47.92 per cent for Borja, a result that confounded pollsters and ran against a current that elected left-of-center presidents in Argentina and Venezuela recently.

The 53-year-old mechanical engineer and business entrepreneur is due to begin a four-year term on August 10, taking over from centrist President Osvaldo Hurtado.

In Panama, spokesmen for Nicolás Ardito Barletta, the candidate picked by the all-powerful National Guard, said he was ahead in Panama City and the eastern province of Chiriquí. They conceded a slim lead to the opposition in the country's second largest city, Colon.

Spokesmen for Arnulfo Arias, trying to regain power 16 years after he was ousted by the guard, said he was leading in Panama City and Chiriquí and had carried Colon by a 50 per cent margin.

Officials estimated 70 per cent of the 900,000 electorate voted. (AP, Reuters)

Hu, in Korea, says new talks can reunify North, South

TOKYO (AP). — Chinese Communist party General Secretary Hu Yaobang, addressing a rally in Pyongyang, said on Sunday new talks can reunify North and South Korea peacefully just as negotiations ended the "large-scale" Korean War in 1953.

North Korea's official Korean Central News Agency said North Korean President Kim Il Sung told the same rally of 200,000 people that "unless an end is put to the present national division and military confrontation of the Korean peninsula, it is impossible to think about a durable peace and security in the world, not to mention peace in Korea and its peaceful reunification."

The agency said there were stormy cheers and thousands of balloons soared into the sky at the rally for the visitor from China, an ally that fought on North Korea's side against U.S.-led UN forces in the 1950-53 Korean War.

It said Hu told the crowd that in his recent talks with U.S. President

Ronald Reagan in Peking, he demanded the U.S. withdraw its troops from South Korea and support reunification in the form of a confederation in which each side tolerates the other's ideology and social system.

"No one has a reason to oppose talks based on the spirit that one side should not swallow the other," Hu added. "As the large-scale Korean War was brought to an armistice through talks more than 30 years ago, it is imperative and possible still today to turn the armistice into a durable peace on the Korean Peninsula and reunify the north and south of Korea peacefully through new talks."

China supports North Korea's proposal for three-way talks among North and South Korea and the U.S. The North says the U.S. must participate because, it contends, the U.S. still exercises military command in the South.

The South, backed by the U.S., says the matter must be settled directly between the North and South.

Feuding Sikhs in temple shootout

NEW DELHI (AP). — Sikh terrorists assassinated a village leader and wounded five people yesterday, as the government announced that 22 Sikh militants were arrested and 13 firearms seized in three Sikh temples in Moga city.

Moga is 300km. northwest of here.

Meanwhile, followers of the two main Sikh militant leaders, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and Harchand Singh Longowal, exchanged gunfire inside a shrine in the Punjab's

Kapurthala district, 350km. north-west of the Indian capital, the United News of India reported.

Casualties, if any, were not immediately known. The two rival Sikh leaders publicly fell out last month and accused each other of betraying the Sikh cause. Six people recently were killed in vendetta attacks by feuding groups.

Three of the slayings occurred on the grounds of Amritsar's Golden Temple, the holiest Sikh shrine and seat of the Sikh militant movement.

Toy gun fired at Pope in Seoul

SEOUL (Reuters). — Pope John Paul yesterday expressed hope for the reunification of the Korean people as he left South Korea after a four-day visit marked by a shooting scare.

In a farewell address at Kimpo Airport, the pope expressed sadness that Communist North Koreans were unable to join the Korean Catholic Church's bicentennial celebrations which took place during his visit.

On Sunday, a 22-year-old Korean student, said by the government to be mentally deranged, fired a plastic toy gun near the Pope's motorcade.

The student, named as Lee Jun Kyu, was overpowered by police who detained him for interrogation.

Later yesterday the pope landed in Port Moresby to begin a three-day visit to Papua, New Guinea and the Solomon Islands.

The pope kissed the ground on his arrival. Bare-breasted Papua New Guineans dressed in feathers and pig tusks danced in greeting.

In the Solomon Islands, where the pope is due for a one-day visit tomorrow, the government clamped tight security around preparations for his welcome and revealed it had deported 11 people after being warned of a possible Libyan-backed threat to seize the British high commission.

Britain warned the government last Thursday that Libyan President Col. Muammar Gaddafi had put out "open contracts" on all British diplomats and the high commission, or embassy, should be considered a target.

London yesterday said the warning was part of similar alerts sent to all diplomatic stations. (Reuters, AP)

UNIVERSITY. — The annual meeting of the Haifa University's board of governors was officially opened last night. It will last four days.



Greek actress Katerina Didaskalon, surrounded by "vestal virgins," places the Olympic torch yesterday in a concave mirror in ancient Olympia, where it is lit by the sun's rays. Story on Page 7.

(U-Pi telephoto)

Baader-Meinhof terrorist gets life for six murders

STUTTGART (AP). — A West German court yesterday convicted Peter-Juergen Boock on six counts of murder in a bloody series of Red Army faction terrorist attacks against prominent officials and businessmen in 1977.

Judge Walther Eitel of the Stuttgart State Court immediately sentenced 32-year-old Boock to three life terms plus 15 years in prison. Prosecutors had sought four life sentences.

The court ruled he was active in planning six killings, but said it could not be determined whether he was at the scene of the crimes.

The six victims shot to death during the summer of 1977 included Dresdner bank chief Juergen Ponto.

Hanns Martin Schleyer, President of the National Employers Association, and four companions of Schleyer.

Ponto was slain at his home near Frankfurt, and Schleyer executed after being kidnapped in Cologne by terrorists who killed his driver and bodyguards.

Boock had pleaded innocent and claimed to have renounced the ultra-left Red Army, also known as the Baader-Meinhof Gang, during his 15-month trial at maximum-security Stammheim Prison.

The Red Army faction claimed responsibility for a string of attacks against U.S. military installations, West German buildings, and prominent German businessmen and politicians over a 10-year period.

Libya may cut ties with 'imperialists'

BEIRUT (Reuters). — Libya's deputy leader Major Abdel-Salam Jalloud was quoted yesterday as saying that his country is considering cutting economic ties with "imperialists" in retaliation for what he said were attempts to isolate Libya. He did not elaborate.

Libya's official news agency Jana said Jalloud was speaking at a banquet in Tripoli Sunday night to welcome Czechoslovakia's Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal, who is on an official visit.

Jalloud said U.S. president Ronald Reagan had involved Britain in an anti-Libyan campaign by creating a problem at the Libyan People's Bureau (embassy) in London.

Britain broke off relations with Libya and expelled Libyan diplomats last month after a policewoman died and 10 Libyans were wounded in a burst of gunfire that police said

came from inside the embassy. Jalloud said Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher could be accused of terrorism because she had agreed to meet what he called the leader of "the biggest terrorist regime in the world," South Africa's Prime Minister P. W. Botha.

Four dead in crash of Finnish helicopter

HAEMEENLINNA, Finland (AP). — Four people were killed and 25 were injured Sunday when a helicopter crashed during a motor race at a local track in what police said was the worst such crash ever in Finland.

The helicopter, which was carrying passengers on sightseeing trips over the area, crashed in the middle of the crowd while landing and exploded into flames on impact, police said.

State of emergency after Cameroon coup attempt

YAOUNDE, Cameroon (AP). — President Paul Biya has imposed a state of emergency in the district surrounding the capital, 12 days after an unsuccessful attempt by presidential guards to overthrow his government.

The state of emergency (giving civilian and military authorities special powers), is scheduled to last for six months, according to the decree published yesterday in the Official Journal.

On May 1, 35 persons accused of having participated in the unsuccessful coup were condemned to death and executed at Mbalmayo, 48 kilometres south of Yaounde, according to reports in the capital.

Dien Bien Phu victory marked by Vietnam

BANGKOK (Reuters). — Vietnam marked the 30th anniversary yesterday of its historic victory over the French at Dien Bien Phu by condemning China for what it called increased armed attacks on the country's northern border. President Truong Chinh, in a statement reported by Radio Hanoi and monitored in Bangkok, called on the Vietnamese people to strengthen unity in the face of the armed threat.

The statement was made at a celebration of the victory at Dien Bien Phu, which spelled the end of French colonial rule in Indo-China.

Heptathlon Record

POTS DAM (Reuters). — Sabine Paetz of East Germany set a world heptathlon record by scoring 6,867 points at an Olympic qualifying meeting here.

She was 31 points better than compatriot Ramona Neubert's mark set in Moscow last June.

Soviet troops recapture key Afghanistan valley

NEW DELHI (AP). — Soviet and Afghan government troops recaptured Andarab Valley, north of Kabul, in heavy fighting last week with Moslem rebels, entrenched in the area for the past two years, a senior Afghan government source reported on Sunday.

The Kabul official, who says he sympathizes with the rebels, reported the assault on Andarab began a few days after the Soviet-Afghan forces launched a powerful offensive on guerrillas in the nearby Panjsher Valley, which controls vital supply routes in Afghanistan.

As many as 175 anti-Marxist guerrillas and 40 Soviet and Afghan troops were killed in the 10-day offensive that took the rebels by surprise, the official told the Associated Press in New Delhi by telephone.

Hundreds of Soviet airborne commandos attacked the 75-kilometre

guerrilla stronghold, the source said. Heavy air and artillery bombardment of the gorge forced most of the estimated 4,000 insurgent fighters to flee to other parts of Baghlan Province and to Samangan and Tahir Provinces, said the source.

Quoting the latest official report from the Panjsher, the source said the Soviet and Afghan troops had run into stiff resistance in the northern section after capturing a large part of the 160 km. long valley.

"The fall of Andarab and capture of all the important towns in the Panjsher are major Soviet military successes in Afghanistan," he added.

The Panjsher was seized by the rebels less than a year after the April 1978 Marxist coup in Kabul. Soviet troops had made four unsuccessful assaults on the strategic gorge since their intervention in December 1979.

Hart's chances grow dim as Mondale takes Texas

AUSTIN (AP). — Walter Mondale won the support he wanted in Texas and Gary Hart's state campaign manager suggested on Sunday it might be time for the senator to consider ending his presidential quest.

"It will be difficult now for him, having lost Texas, to win the nomination," campaign manager Martin Frost told a news conference the morning after Mondale captured the majority of delegates elected in Texas caucuses.

"Hart needed to win this state in my judgement," said Frost.

Mondale and Hart campaigned in Ohio on Sunday and Jesse Jackson, a surprise winner Saturday in the Louisiana primary, was in North Carolina.

Four states are holding primaries today — Ohio, Indiana, Maryland and North Carolina. Frost said Hart will "need a victory in Ohio or

Indiana, preferably both, to have a chance to win the nomination." Jackson complained Sunday that in Texas "there was a lot of intimidation, a lot of irregularity and a lot of suits will be filed."

Texas party officials on Sunday continued to tabulate the results. Figures from 57 per cent of the 6,000 caucuses gave Mondale 50.4 per cent of the state delegates. Hart had 28 per cent and Jackson 14.2 per cent.

For Jackson, the Louisiana result was his second consecutive electoral victory in the race for the democratic presidential nomination. Earlier he won the District of Columbia primary.

Hart said his finish above Mondale in Louisiana's primaries makes him believe he will "do very well" in today's primaries.

The final, unofficial tally in Louisiana gave Jackson 43 per cent of the state delegates. Hart got 25 per cent and Mondale 22 per cent.

Top Ethiopian envoy in U.S. defects

WASHINGTON (AP). — The top Ethiopian diplomat in Washington is seeking political asylum in the U.S. and plans to speak out against political repression by his country's Marxist government, a congressional aide said on Sunday night.

Tesfaye Demeke, the charge d'affaires of the Ethiopian Embassy, filed a formal application for political asylum on Friday with the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

He is a member of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Front.

He said he had been in the U.S. since 1974, and had worked for the U.S. State Department.

Demeke, 40, a foreign service officer who began his career under the government of the late emperor Haile Selassie, was appointed charge d'affaires four years ago after the Ethiopian government downgraded diplomatic relations with the U.S. A U.S. charge d'affaires heads a small diplomatic staff in Addis Ababa.

Chinese scientists plan to move clouds

PEKING (AP). — China's scientists, pondering how to get water from the moist south to the parched north, say they may have found the answer — moving clouds.

The official news agency Xinhua reported on Sunday that scientists are studying the possibility of artificially inducing warm and humid air currents above the Yangtze River source in the western mountains, forming clouds that would drift over the northern half of the country and provide much needed rainfall.

The Yangtze and Yellow rivers, China's longest waterways, originate in the Bayanhar Mountains in Western Qinghai Province.

The Yangtze meanders southeast and has plenty of water that benefits the basin it drains. But the Yellow River, which flows through the North, has little water and carries large amounts of silt, which causes it to shift course and erode the land.

Experts dismantle N. Ireland bomb

BELFAST (AP). — Experts dismantled an 18-kg bomb in Newry and youths tossed petrol bombs at police early yesterday after a weekend of scattered violence on the third anniversary of IRA hunger striker Bobby Sand's death.

A spokesman for Northern Ireland's Royal Ulster Constabulary in Belfast said the bomb, hidden in a rucksack, was found late Sunday in the Newry town centre after a telephone warning to police. Army disposal experts carried out two controlled explosions to disarm it, he said.

Elsewhere in Newry, 64 km. south of Belfast, and in predominantly Roman Catholic West Belfast, Catholic youths hurled several petrol bombs and other missiles at passing security patrols, police said. No injuries were reported.

Amnesty International office sacked in Brazil

SAO PAULO, BRAZIL (AP). — Unknown assailants broke into local Amnesty International headquarters early on Sunday and set fire to files, documents and magazines, according to local police.

There were no victims or additional damage to the headquarters, a house in a Sao Paulo residential neighbourhood, said police inspector Paulo Roberto Siquetto, in charge of the investigation. He

added that there were no witnesses. The fire, which began just before dawn, was put out by two fire trucks shortly after nearby neighbours called the fire department.

State Legislator Jose Gregori, a member of the Sao Paulo council of directors of Amnesty International said the fire was "purposely set" as a reprisal against a series of debates on torture which Amnesty International was sponsoring yesterday.

Burmese troops attack rebels at Thai border

BANGKOK (AP). — Burmese government troops seized a camp of Karen insurgents on the Thai-Burmese border on Sunday in a sustained ground attack that sent more than 3,000 Karen civilians fleeing into Thailand, a Thai provincial police chief said yesterday.

Col. Askorn Khantadara, police chief of Kanchanaburi province, said Burmese troops overran the camp at Three Pagodas Pass after a three-day attack. The camp straddles the border.

No information was available on casualties.

The Karens are among several guerrilla groups that have fought for autonomy from the central Rangoon government since Burma gained independence after World War II.

FOREST. — A forest commemorating Tunisian Jewry was dedicated yesterday near Neve Ya'acov in Jerusalem. Hundreds of Israelis of Tunisian origin were present at the ceremony.

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WEEKLY REVIEW

Reagan's Return

The President Flies Back to Those Same Old Problems

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

SAVORING the rave reviews of his trip to China, President Reagan retreated from the stage for a rest at Camp David. His top advisers had no such luxury. They immediately began plans for the next openings on the re-election road show in an atmosphere of optimism and wariness. The President, several aides say, is performing so well politically that it is eerie. In spite of a bitter stalemate with the Soviet Union, a loss of American influence in the Middle East, immense controversy over Central America and a worrisome surge in interest rates, his approval ratings keep climbing.

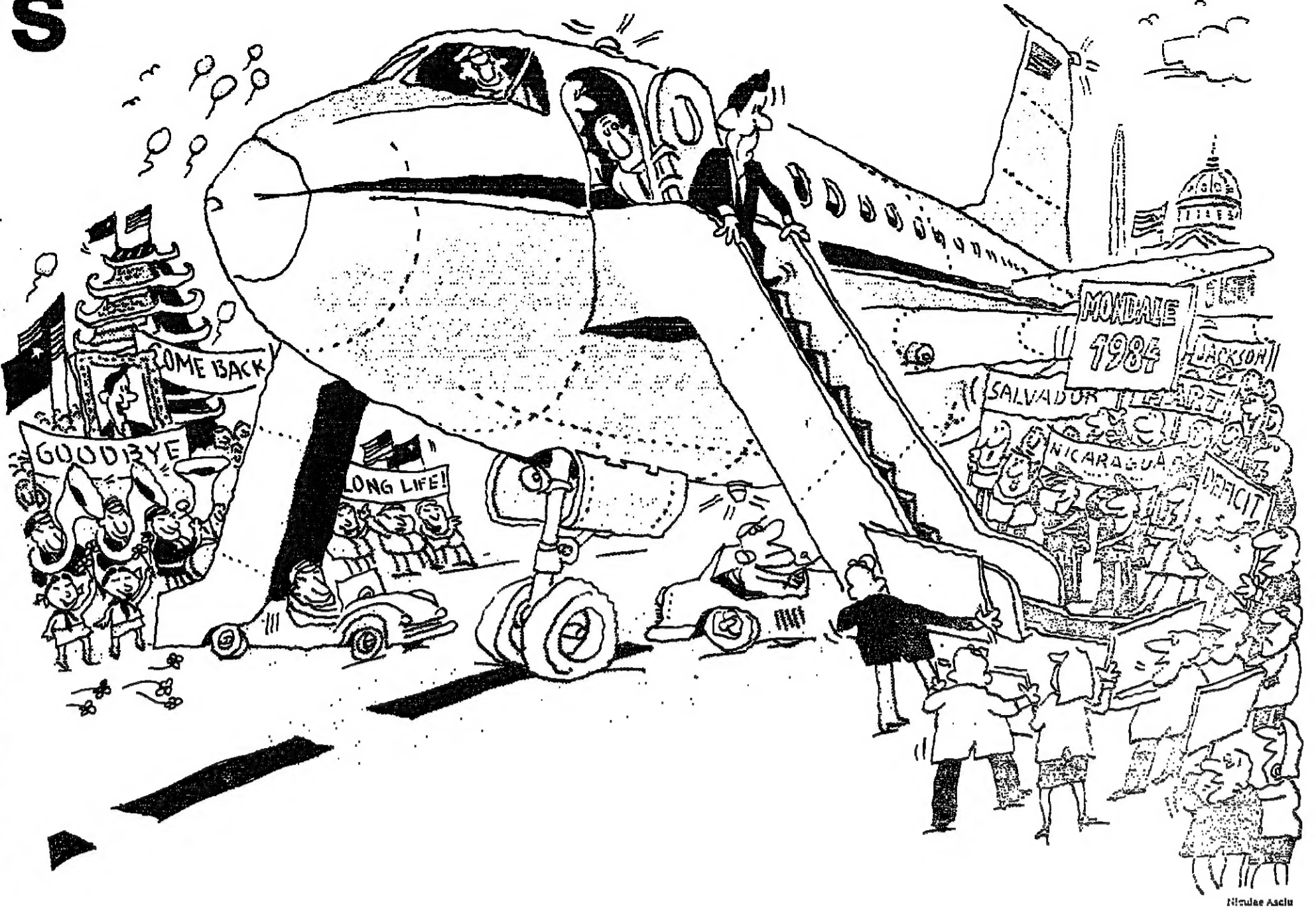
White House aides say the main reasons for Mr. Reagan's popularity are the economic expansion and the President's continuing ability to project an image of leadership and statesmanship. On the agenda of a White House political strategy meeting last Thursday was the content of television campaign spots to be aired starting May 21. Not surprisingly, they are to emphasize general themes of firmness of resolve and confidence in America under Mr. Reagan. Commercially with footage from the China trip concluded last week and the meeting with Pope John Paul II in Alaska are to come later in the year.

The White House's instincts are to be cautious. The time has long past for bold budget initiatives. The caution will be vindicated if, as expected, Congress enacts a "downpayment" on the deficit consisting of modest spending cuts and tax increases. According to White House officials, the President is also said to be planning a cautious strategy on nuclear arms talks with the Soviet Union. "Arms control is on the shelf until the Russians decide to take it off," said a Presidential aide. "Either way, it's not a political problem for Reagan."

Central American Worries

Some tough battles with Congress loom in the next few weeks over Mr. Reagan's requests for funds for the MX missile and the production of chemical warfare weapons. Both are in trouble because of doubts on Capitol Hill about the Administration's strategy of building up the American arsenal as an incentive for Moscow to negotiate. But the foreign policy area that the White House fears most is Central America. Mr. Reagan's aides are wrestling with the question of how much to inject the President into the coming dispute over military assistance to El Salvador and to the insurgents in Nicaragua.

Their concern has been sharpened by what Administration aides say are fresh intelligence reports that a major Cuban-sponsored guerrilla offensive is being planned in El Salvador this fall, timed for the height of the American election campaign. The talk in the Administration has turned to fears that El Salvador could go "down the drain," as a White House aide put it last week, unless military aid is drastically increased, and soon. In the glow of Mr. Reagan's triumph in China, the question at the White House is whether he should change the subject so quickly. "My own feeling is that I'd rather get it out of the way now," said a Presidential aide. "That's preferable to having the situation blow up, presenting the



President with a real crisis in October."

Caution would dictate not pushing El Salvador back to the top of the agenda, and James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff who is known for his caution, is said to believe that in the past Mr. Reagan's cries of alarm over Central America have drawn as much opposition as support. But White House aides also said that Robert C. McFarlane, the national security adviser, was pressing for a major effort. Plans are being readied, they said, for a drive to blame the Congress if El Salvador is set back for lack of military support, starting with a possible television address this week.

White House aides are hoping that the results of the Salvador election today will bolster their case. But they concede that their selling effort is harder because both Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger and William J. Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence, have lost credibility on Capitol Hill. Mr. Casey because of his statements about the covert war in Nicaragua and Mr. Weinberger because of his hard line on military spending. (Pentagon budget cutting, page 3.) The White House, meanwhile, continues to be handicapped by the inquiry into the finances of White House counselor Edwin Meese 3d, Mr. Reagan's nominee for Attorney General.

But Administration officials say they are pleased with the vitality of Mr. Reagan's re-election campaign. Edward J. Rollins, the campaign director, has put together what seems to be a solid organization, and there is talk of surpassing the early projection of enrolling more than two million new voters to counter the Democratic registration drive. With its eye on the leadership theme, the White House is banking on a season of pageantry. The Presidential cavalcade is embarking June 1 on a trip to the Reagan ancestral home in Ireland, an economic summit in London and a celebration of the 40th anniversary of D-Day on the beaches of Normandy. Speaking of the China trip, Michael K. Deaver, the White House's chief image-maker, said last week, "We've really got our work cut out for us to top this one in Europe."

Democrats Start to Worry About Healing Their Scars

By HOWELL RAINES

SINCE his New Hampshire defeat, Walter F. Mondale has regarded most shows of confidence as a poisonous luxury. But with the approach of critical tests in Texas and Ohio, the former Vice President suggested that a sweep of these states, coming after his success in the Tennessee primary last week, sets him up to claim a nominating majority of delegates by the end of the primary season on June 5. In private, Mr. Mondale was even more assured. He confided to supporters his eagerness to plan a national convention that will be a festival of party unity "rather than a brawl."

Mr. Mondale was not alone last week in turning his attention to the prospects — and in Senator Gary Hart's case, the threat — of a speedy end to the nomination battle. Prodded by party elder Robert S. Strauss, the Democratic chairman, Charles T. Manatt, announced on Friday that he would form a task force to start knitting up the raveled sleeve of party unity.

There was a growing feeling on all sides that the Texas caucuses yesterday and the Ohio primary on Tuesday represented Mr. Hart's last clear chance to move back into contention. And in this state capital, where insiders keep a savvy eye on national politics, there was increasing speculation about the final shape of the Democratic ticket, about the convention and about what kind of

general election candidate Mr. Mondale would make against President Reagan.

After Tennessee, Mr. Mondale had 1,212 of the 1,967 delegates needed for the nomination, almost double Mr. Hart's 644. The Rev. Jesse Jackson was well back at 209, although he was hoping Louisiana's primary yesterday would give him another boost of publicity like the one he achieved with his first primary victory, in the District of Columbia, last week.

Close to the Top

Texas, with 200 delegates, and Ohio, with 175, could bring Mr. Mondale quite close to the magic number, especially if he also carried Indiana, Maryland and North Carolina, which also hold primaries Tuesday. But Texas and Ohio in particular illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of Mr. Mondale's candidacy. He has shown consistent vote-getting muscle in industrial states. And last week, as he used the debate in Dallas Wednesday to chide Mr. Jackson for his failure to repudiate the support of the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, he showed that he could also tailor his performance to more conservative tastes.

Even so, Mr. Hart's reminders to Texas voters of Mr. Mondale's ties to labor and to President Carter pointed up vulnerabilities that Mr. Reagan is certain to exploit. Democratic leaders such as Jim Hightower, the Texas agriculture commissioner, believe that Mr. Hart is hurting his future prospects by softening up Mr. Mondale for Mr. Reagan.

In any event, Mr. Hart's language was extremely sharp as he accused Mr. Mondale of helping Mr. Carter craft a wishy-washiness on foreign policy that gave America "days of shame" during the Iranian hostage crises. In lines that could easily be borrowed by the Republicans, Mr. Hart also told Western voters that Mr. Mondale would use the oil industry, which is central to their economy, as a "political whipping boy."

If Mr. Hart loses the current round of contests, he faces a decision that could have great impact on his political future and on the party's chances of presenting a united front in the fall. He must choose between staying on the attack against Mr. Mondale or heeding advisers who want him to shift his attention to an issues campaign that will position him for 1988. By making peace with Mr. Mondale, Mr. Hart would also keep his name in the Vice Presidential guessing game.

Vice Presidential Promotion

That game has come into increasing prominence this week, because of the general assumption that Mr. Mondale is closing in on the nomination and because party activists are laying strategies to promote their favorite candidates for the number-two spot.

In Texas, Mondale supporters such as Jess Hay, chairman of a Dallas mortgage firm, have made no secret of their desire to see Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas on the ticket. Meanwhile, prominent women in the party have been pressing the argument for prospective women running mates, such as Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro of Queens.

Mr. Jackson's name almost never enters Vice Presidential speculation these days, in part because of his defense of Mr. Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam leader who made a death threat against a reporter. Among the candidates and their campaign strategists, the issue has undermined esteem for Mr. Jackson's political judgment. The Farrakhan controversy kept Mr. Jackson on the defensive in the Dallas debate, and the verbal pummeling he took for his ties to the Black Muslim leader may have contributed to the conciliatory tone Mr. Jackson is taking toward his fellow Democrats these days.

But there are limits to conciliation, especially where the squabble-prone Democrats are involved. Mr. Jackson, who fed party leaders unity hopes at a series of meetings with Mr. Manatt, Mr. Mondale and Mr. Strauss, yesterday promised supporters he might still have a "joker" to play at the national convention. And Mr. Hart strongly denounced "the party unity task force" as a ploy to help Mr. Mondale claim the nomination before the end of the primary season. Mr. Hart and Mr. Jackson insisted that any such task force would have to deal with three issues that have been troublesome for Mr. Mondale: the role of the "run-off" primary, delegate-selection rules and union-funded campaign committees.

All this is meat for Republicans, to whom the week's events demonstrated that even when the Democrats talk about uniting they wind up in politically damaging arguments about how to paper over their differences.

U.S. Anticipates Duarte Victory in El Salvador Today

EL SALVADOR holds its long-awaited presidential election today, and in the final days of the campaign, the extent and propriety of the United States role was fiercely debated in both countries. Senator Jesse Helms, a conservative Republican from North Carolina, asked for the immediate recall of American Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering, accusing him of using his influence "to strangle liberty during the night." Publicizing the Senator's critique, aides of Roberto d'Aubuisson, the rightist candidate in the election, complained that the American Embassy was responsible for the veto by Provisional President Alvaro Magaña of legislation that would have allowed elections to proceed without requiring voters to go to the voting places where they were registered. Under the registration system, Mr. d'Aubuisson placed second in the March 25 election, well behind José Napoleón Duarte, the Christian Democratic frontrunner.

The Administration "is taking no

sides" in the election, the White House added. Mr. Pickering said his embassy "had jumped through hoops" to remain neutral. But the Administration and Congress were obviously looking forward to a Duarte victory. State Department officials said that if he won he would be invited to Washington later this month as an ally in the battle to win Congressional support for more aid.

House Democratic leaders had placed military aid on hold until the results were in. There was a widespread belief in Congress that if Mr. d'Aubuisson wins, legislation containing \$82 million for the Salvadoran Government will stand no chance. There were also fears that a Duarte victory might be overturned by a coup. "We want to send a message to the military: They better honor that election," said Representative Clarence D. Long, Democrat of Maryland. Not to worry, suggested the Salvadoran Defense Minister, Gen. Eugenio Vides Casanova. During Mr. Duarte's presidency from December 1980 to March 1982, he said, "many people learned that they could live with Duarte." In El Salvador, Mr. d'Aubuisson's supporters seemed willing to accept a Duarte victory because they felt that his ability to act would be limited by the army and by conservative forces in the Assembly.

Fighting in the region threatened last week to spill over to new battlefields. Costa Rica, which has tried to stay neutral despite the Nicaraguan rebels' use of its border areas, complained that Nicaraguan Government forces had staged a "premeditated attack." The commander of the Costa Rican Civil Guard, Col. Oscar Vides, said his forces had fired back after mortar fire from Nicaraguan batteries "landed 4,500 meters inside Costa Rica." Washington said it would speed up military aid to



Christian Democratic Party candidate José Napoleón Duarte campaigning in Santa Ana, El Salvador, last week.

Costa Rica, which supported the Sandinistas when they were fighting to overthrow President Anastasio Somoza Debayle but has since cooled to them.

On another front, American officials said the C.I.A., which finances the Nicaraguan rebels, employed Salvadorans and others in two air strikes against

Nicaragua in February. They attacked a military camp and a radio transmitter reportedly used by Salvadoran guerrillas. Officials said the C.I.A. operation resembled the use of third-country nationals to mine Nicaraguan harbors in January and hit oil storage tanks at Corinto and Puerto Sandino in October.

The Pope and Korean Christianity

3



The Nation

The New York Times / Bob Glass

Shopping for a luxury car in New Jersey.

One Step Back, One Step Ahead For the Economy

The economy seems to be advancing, retreating and standing still, or so it appeared from another conflicting batch of reports last week.

The index of leading indicators dropped 1.1 percent in March, its first decline in 19 months. Sales of new homes declined by 4.9 percent, but factory orders rose 2.2 percent, the best showing in half a year, and major retailers and auto makers reported sales gains. Employment rose by 71,000 to 8.84 million, and the average factory worker put in 41.2 hours a week, the highest level in two decades — signs, the White House said, of "a generally strong economic picture in the weeks ahead." But for the third month in row unemployment held steady at 7.8 percent, 0.4 percent higher than the rate Mr. Reagan inherited from the Carter Administration.

The Senate, meanwhile, rejected both a plan that would have cut Federal budget gaps by \$280 billion over three years and a one-year freeze on nearly all military and domestic spending backed by a coalition of Republicans and Democrats. It left for this week final action on the President's three-year, \$144-billion deficit reduction proposal. That prompted Wall Street economist Henry Kaufman to warn of "spectacularly higher" interest rates by the end of next year. And that, analysts said, helped send the stock market down more than 15 points on Friday, despite a \$3.6 billion drop in the money supply.

Test Pilot's Death Raises Questions

While an Air Force general was involved in secret aircraft tests 11 days ago over Nevada, man or plane failed and the officer was killed. Details of the accident began to surface last week, raising questions about whether Lieut. Gen. Robert M. Bond should even have been flying a high-performance aircraft, and focusing unwanted attention on secret Air Force testing programs.

The Pentagon refused to comment formally on the incident, but military sources disclosed that the "specially modified test craft" involved was a Soviet MIG-23 jet that was used in tests against American aircraft equipped with radar-evading technology developed under the Stealth project. The sources said General Bond may have been engaged in such testing or may simply have been evaluating the Soviet plane. It was unclear how the Air Force acquired the craft, which is the Soviet Air Force's primary air-to-air combat plane.

It was also unclear why the general was allowed to fly it. Although he had 5,000 hours of experience in high performance jets, General Bond was, at 54 years old, nine years past the usual maximum age at which pilots are allowed to make solo flights in such aircraft.

He was reportedly traveling at about 1,500 miles per hour at a low altitude when the plane went out of control over the Nellis Air Force Testing Range, about 100 miles northwest of Las Vegas.

Sharing in New Profits

Congratulations all around marked the automobile industry's dramatic return to profitability last year. But when top executives of the Big Three decided to pay themselves record bonuses from their record profits of \$6.15 billion, leaders of the United Automobile Workers, which granted concessions to limit costs, and officials of the Government, which pressured the Japanese to limit competition, cried foul.

The chorus of disapproval reached a crescendo last week that began when Special Trade Representative William Brock said he felt "betrayed." He castigated Ford Motor Company and General Motors for paying millions of dollars in bonuses to top executives and vowed to end the import quotas that helped make such compensation possible.

General Motors paid its chairman, Roger B. Smith, \$1.5 million in salary and bonuses and an undisclosed amount in long term compensation.

Phillip Caldwell, the Ford chairman, got \$1.5 million for the year and exercised accumulated stock options that netted him another \$3.8 million.

Owen F. Bieber, the U.A.W. president called the bonuses "obscene" and promised that bargaining over the union's next contract with the two companies, which is to replace one that expires Sept. 15, would be "much tougher."

Congress had its say, too. Republican Senator John C. Danforth of Missouri, who sponsored the 1981 legislation that limited Japanese imports, said the automakers might no longer need such protection. "It was not my intent," he said, "to put the industry on a permanent life support mechanism."

Mr. Caldwell, who came in for the heaviest criticism, came out with the most aggressive defense. He said his company's increased executive compensation — the top 45 officers averaged nearly \$500,000 each — was necessary "to keep cash-rich Japanese companies from luring them away." "Just because we had one good year doesn't mean we should lose the memory of three bad ones," he said.

Immigration Bill On Back Burner

With squabbles among Democrats boiling over as they battle it out in the primaries, House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. again put a controversial immigration bill on the back burner last week. California Democratic Congressmen, who overwhelmingly oppose it, asked the Speaker to postpone debate on the legislation, which has already been passed by the Senate, until after the state's June 5 primary.

Although none of the California legislators faces a tough primary challenge, they want to avoid a raising such a contentious issue; some Democrats support the bill, which would penalize employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens and would grant legal status to many aliens already in the country. Hispanic American groups — as well as the Democratic Presidential candidates — are critical of the measure, saying it would encourage job discrimination against people of Hispanic descent. Organized labor, however, supports a ban on employment of illegal aliens. Although the California Democrats may seek a further delay on the bill, Mr. O'Neill has said he won't oblige them next time. "This is definitely the last postponement," he said.

H.U.D. Counts The Homeless

The Government said last week that it had done a rough head count of the homeless and found a lot fewer of them than had previously been supposed. But critics questioned the report's arithmetic, and one ridiculed its estimate of 250,000 to 350,000 homeless Americans, saying there might actually be three million.

The report was "the first national profile of the homeless population based on systematically collected data," said Samuel R. Pierce Jr., Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. It said the increasingly heterogeneous group included people of both sexes and all ages. There were families and single people, runaways and the unemployed, alcoholics and drug abusers and people with mental health problems.

A H.U.D. spokesman said the sources for the study included "over 500 interviews with knowledgeable local observers" in 60 metropolitan areas, a national survey of shelter operators and discussions with concerned organizations. The report found the largest concentration of homeless people in Los Angeles, with perhaps 33,800; and New York City, with about 30,000. Mitch Snyder, a spokesman for the Community for Creative Nonviolence, a private nonprofit group that works with the homeless, said H.U.D.'s estimates were politically motivated and "utterly ridiculous." His group estimated that the number of homeless had doubled from last year's one and a half million.

Caroline Rand Herron,
Richard Levine
and Michael Wright

68 Decisions Down, 90 to Go

From Here On, It's Uphill For the Supreme Court

By LINDA GREENHOUSE

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court took a deep breath last week and left town for 10 days on its final recess before the grueling stretch drive to a July adjournment. The last months of the term are always an odd time for the Court, at once its period of greatest productivity and of least visibility. Oral arguments are over. Every case the Court will decide this term has been, to use the Court's word, "submitted." No longer do the Justices sit on the bench for hours a day, tourists filing in and out, lawyers straining to make a final point before the red light goes on and Chief Justice Warren E. Burger says firmly: "Your time has expired."

The Justices now appear in public for only brief moments, emerging from behind a red velvet curtain precisely at 10 a.m. to announce the day's opinions. Then they disappear again to face the drafts of opinions now making the rounds from chamber to chamber in search of consensus.

It is as if the Court turns inward at this time of year. The Justices, having learned all they can from the public sessions, the briefs and the arguments, are finally alone to wrestle with the hardest questions on the country's legal agenda.

That sense is heightened this year by the political winds swirling around the Court. The aging Justices' mortality is a topic for casual political discourse as the Presidential candidates compete for the chance to shape the Court for the next generation.

The Court has issued 68 opinions this year, a shade more than at this time last year, including the decision to uphold municipal Nativity scenes. In an important decision last week, the Court instructed appellate judges to scrutinize libel judgments with special sensitivity to First Amendment values. The Court upheld an appellate court's finding that evidence was inadequate to justify a libel judgment against Consumers Union for an inaccurate review of a stereo speaker. But the 90 opinions to come in the next two months include most of the term's hardest cases. It has been five months, for example, since the Court heard arguments in this term's racial discrimination case. The question in *Memphis Firefighters v. Stotts* is the extent to which a city may be required to protect recent black job gains at the expense of more senior white workers. A

lower Federal court ordered Memphis to suspend its seniority rules during a fiscal crisis in order to protect new black employees in a fire department that had long excluded blacks.

It has also been five months since the Court heard the Federal Government's appeal in an immigration case that could affect the chances of thousands of refugees for political asylum. At issue in *Immigration and Naturalization Service v. Stevic* is the standard an alien must meet in order to qualify as a political refugee and avoid deportation, with the Government arguing that a lower court's standard was too lenient.

A sex discrimination case that originally appeared to present few problems is now one of the oldest undecided cases on the calendar. The question in *Hishon v. King & Spalding*, argued Oct. 31, is whether the Federal law against employment discrimination applies to a law firm's decision on whom to invite into the partnership. The case is an appeal by a woman to whom a big Atlanta law firm denied a partnership. The delay is puzzling because a clear majority of the Court appeared sympathetic to her appeal.

Last term, the Court's conservative bloc — led on criminal issues by the Chief Justice and Justice William H. Rehnquist — failed to muster a majority for restricting the exclusionary rule, which bars the use of illegally seized evidence. In a renewed effort this year, two prosecution appeals were argued in January.

'Good Faith' Exception

The question in *Massachusetts v. Sheppard* and *United States v. Leon* is whether to create a "good faith" exception to the rule, which would permit evidence obtained by police officers who had reasonable grounds for believing their actions were constitutional.

Also pending since January is *New York v. Uplinger*, a case involving a New York law that makes homosexual solicitation in a public place a crime. New York's highest court struck down the law on privacy grounds. The state's attorney general, Robert Abrams, told the Supreme Court that he agreed the law is unconstitutional, at least as applied to adults, but the appeal is being pressed by the Buffalo district attorney.

Late term arguments deprive the Court of the luxury of spending months on a decision. Two important Government appeals were argued during the last week of April. In one, *Selective Service*



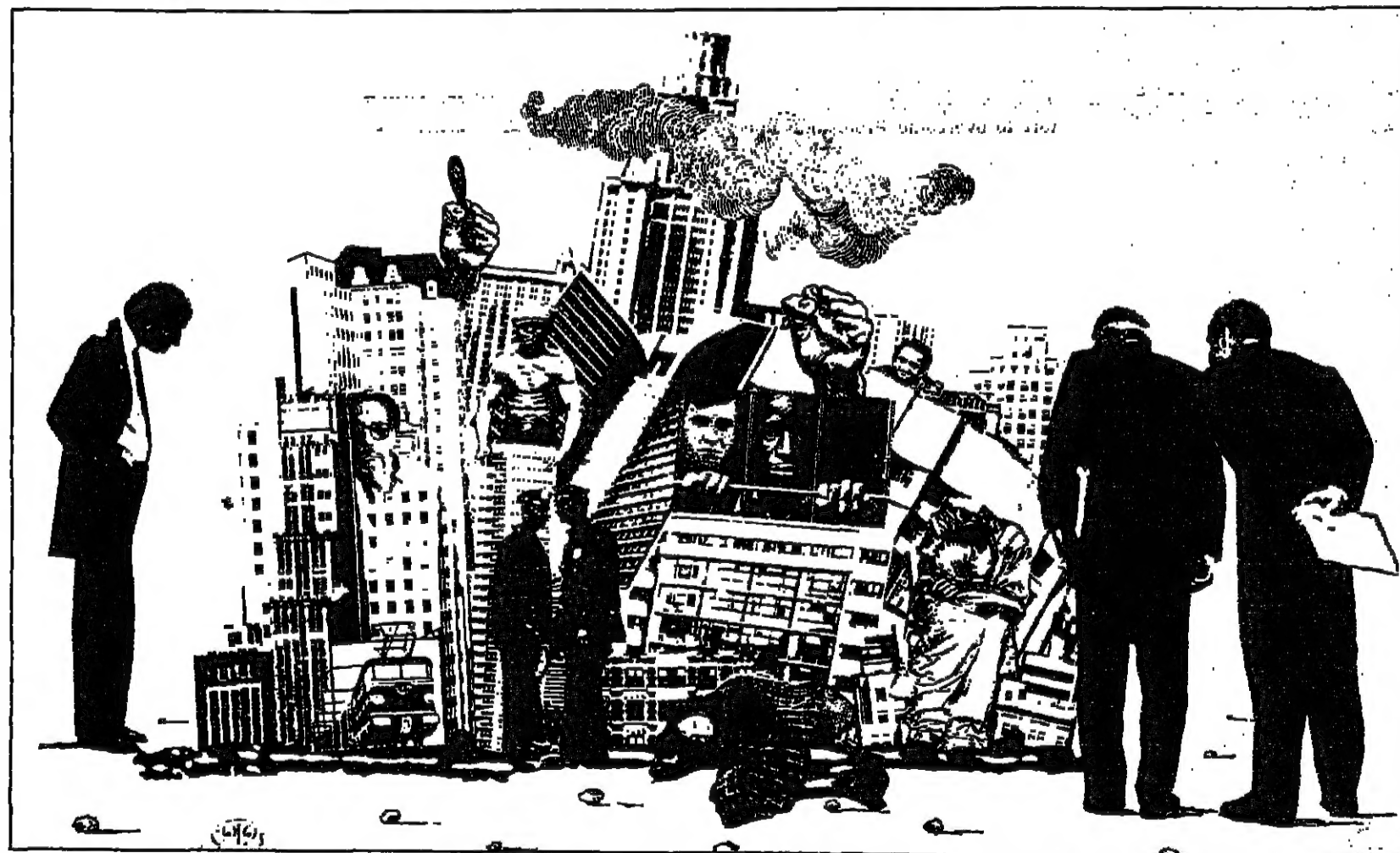
Arnie Ten

System v. Minnesota Public Interest Group, the Government is arguing for the constitutionality of the Federal law that bars Federal scholarship aid to young men who have not registered for the draft. The other case, *Regan v. Wald*, is the Reagan Administration's defense of its restrictions on travel to Cuba, which were declared invalid by a Federal Appeals Court.

While the Court works its way through the argued cases, it is also setting the agenda for the term that begins next October. Appeals reach the Court at the rate of 80 a week. The rate of new filings has held steady for the past year, but is down nearly 7 percent from the 1982 peak. At the same time, the Court is accepting fewer cases for argument in an attempt to cut into its backlog. About 38 hours of argument next term — a bit more than three weeks on the bench — is now committed to cases accepted but not argued during the current term. That is down by more than 40 percent from the backlog at this time last year.

Progress measured in hours may not seem like much to a Court that writes for history. But progress by any measure is welcome as the Court begins its wearying run to the finish.

Big-City Mayors Debated the Roots of Lawlessness Last Week



Francisco Colón

Of Crime, Punishment, Causes and Cures

By MICHAEL GOODWIN

According to some survivors, being a big-city mayor is often just an ongoing experience in crisis management. Decrepit transit systems, arson, scandals and murder, all against a backdrop of poverty for tens of thousands of residents, are facts of life for those who inhabit the city halls of urban America. Indeed, such problems are so routine that getting a debate going on them can be difficult — mayors, no matter what their political persuasion, often just throw up their hands and say nothing can be done until Washington sends money.

So it was with expectations of commiseration and camaraderie that the leaders of six of the country's largest cities gathered in New York last week for a discussion of urban woes. Instead, the conference at New York University produced a surprisingly sharp division over crime, its causes and solutions. The specific issue was whether there is a direct link between unemployment and criminality. Is a person without a job more tempted to turn to crime, while a person with one meets his needs legally? Is jail the most effective deterrent?

These questions have already been extensively studied but not resolved, and the conference broke up without breaking new ground. Still, the responses from the largely Democratic gathering ranged the full liberal-conservative spectrum. On one hand was Mayor Koch, who called for the death penalty for those frequently convicted of selling narcotics. He said there was no proven relationship between unemployment and crime and argued that crime is rampant in the nation because criminals no longer fear capture and punishment. His opponents — Mayors Raymond L. Flynn of Boston, W. Wilson Goode of Philadelphia and Donald Fraser of Minneapolis

— took an approach more in keeping with the party's traditional liberalism on social issues, arguing that poverty is the root cause of crime and that improved employment, educational and housing opportunities are the answer.

The debate continued later in the week, albeit indirectly. Mr. Koch gave a speech Thursday attempting to buttress his notion that there is no link between crime and joblessness. He said the failures of the criminal justice system were a source of frustration, adding: "It is indeed tempting, therefore, to believe that crime can be blamed on specific factors, such as social conditions or unemployment." But, he went on, there is no proof to support that conclusion. "The data do seem to indicate that age and certainty of punishment are the factors most clearly connected to crime and the deterrence of crime."

"Building more and bigger prisons, and more electric chairs and gas chambers, is not the answer to the economic problems in America's cities," Mr. Flynn of Boston responded in an interview. "The cure is safe, decent affordable housing, quality education, decent jobs and making sure that there is fair access to city services for everyone."

To be sure, the mayors were wading into a territory that has confounded specialists for more than a decade. In recent years, study after study has sought to determine whether anything can be done to stem the record crime rates that have turned American cities into dead-bolt fortresses.

Samuel M. Ehrenhalt, regional commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, said his experience has led him to see both sides of the argument. "We know that criminals make choices, like people in other kinds of businesses, in terms of costs and benefits," he said. "If you make it more costly for them, they could make a different choice. On the other hand, the idea is to

give them some other choices — a job. But what kind of a job could you give a heroin pusher that would be as lucrative and induce him to give up his hustle?"

One of the leading think-tanks on criminal justice issues, New York's Vera Institute, is so influential that both Mr. Flynn and Mr. Koch cite its work. The institute is winding up an examination of most of the major studies and, by adding its own data, trying to draw some conclusions on joblessness and lawlessness.

"We think there is a meaningful relationship between unemployment and crime, but it is a complicated one," said Jerome McElroy, an associate director. "The relationship varies with the age of the people involved and the kinds of opportunities that are available to them in their neighborhoods."

Mr. McElroy said youths are most likely to commit crimes between the ages of 15 and 18, and that neither punishment nor employment programs were known to be effective during those years. Among the reasons, he said, are the fact that the types of jobs available for teen-agers are limited, while there are no limits to the criminal options and little awareness of their long-term consequences.

The trend begins to reverse itself, he said, among those in their early 20's. At that point, "aging-out of criminality." It is then, Mr. McElroy believes, that jobs programs can be alternatives to crime because people begin to look for stability in their lives.

But there are additional complications, he says, that may sway an individual one way or another. These include family support, education and the type of work available. Perhaps paving the way for more debates like last week's, he offered a personal view: "It's a very complicated issue. It's not a yes or no type of thing."

A Unity Cabinet In Lebanon Is Elusive

Prime Minister-designate Rashid Karami tried to form a government of national unity in Lebanon last week but disunity kept getting in the way. While potential ministers squabbled, some of the factions they represent ignored a cease-fire that was supposed to be in effect and dueling with artillery across the Green Line dividing Beirut.

Mr. Karami's methods reflected the country's chaotic politics. He announced appointments without first asking many of the appointees, who then proceeded to balk. The reason for the lack of consultation, he indicated, was the urgent need to end the fighting and transfer Lebanon's basic tensions to the relative quiet of a cabinet room.

But Walid Jumblatt, the Druze leader, thought the posts of Tourism and Transport were not important enough for him. Nabih Berri, the Moslem Shiite leader, was not attracted by the unlikely combination of Justice and Hydroelectricity and wanted a post connected to Shiite affairs in the south, where the Israelis are in control. Joseph Skaf jibbed at being Minister of Information because that was the only post accorded the Greek Catholics. Two prominent Maronite Christians, former President Camille Chamoun and Pierre Gemayel, father of President Amin Gemayel, hesitated but finally acquiesced.

Conflicts more serious than these await the proposed government, notably the potentially explosive presence of Syrian and Israeli forces in Lebanon. Tension between the two sides rose last week after the capture in the Syrian-controlled north of three Israeli civilians whom the Syrians described as saboteurs and spies. Jerusalem said they were diplomats attached to the Israeli liaison office, an informal embassy located in Dbeiyeh, a Christian-controlled village just north of Beirut. Israel demanded the release of the three men, who had "strayed," it said, into Syrian-controlled territory while sightseeing, but Damascus asserted they had confessed to spying and said they would be held as prisoners of war.

Solidarity Keeps The Flame Alive

May Day, a workers' holiday in many countries, tends to be a grim affair in Poland. Government slogans and Communist Party banners extol the virtues of hard labor, and helmeted riot policemen turn out to chase protesters. Last week, however, Lech Walesa and thousands of Solidarity supporters enlivened the proceedings in Gdansk, Warsaw and at least four other Polish cities. Infiltrating the official parade in Gdansk, they flashed their two-fingered V for victory sign and chanted the banned union's libertarian slogans — "free political prisoners" was a favorite — as they marched past startled functionaries in the reviewing stands. Officials later put the number of political detainees at 472.

The police, employing water cannon, baton charges and tear gas,



Polish leader Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski (left) with Soviet leader Konstantin U. Chernenko and Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko (center) in Moscow last week.

made more than 600 arrests. Mr. Walesa slipped away to his apartment, telling reporters who telephoned, "Our march was a great success. We shouted all our slogans and our banners were shown. We told them, right to their faces, what we think." Two days later, thousands of Solidarity supporters were again briefly in the streets after attending Roman Catholic masses for the prisoners. The occasion was the May 3

anniversary of Poland's liberal Constitution of 1791.

Jerzy Urban, the Government spokesman, dismissed the protests as "pitiful." He said eight million people participated in the official May Day parades, headed in Warsaw by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the party leader.

Government newspapers also claimed success in negotiations with representatives of 500 Western banks, who reportedly agreed to delay repayment of \$1.7 billion of Polish debts, some due this year. Mr. Jaruzelski later flew to Moscow, where Soviet President Konstantin U. Chernenko gave him the Order of Lenin. They signed a 15-year economic pact that appeared to offer renewed Soviet support for the faltering Polish economy while binding Mr. Jaruzelski's country more tightly in the Soviet economic orbit.

Ideas for Ending The Ulster War

Undaunted by past failures to break the long and bloody impasse in Northern Ireland, four nationalist political parties from both sides of the border made an attempt at a solution last week.

The parties, working for the past four months in a study group called New Ireland Forum, called on Britain to end 63 years of partition and agree to a new Irish state that would guarantee the civil and religious rights of the Protestant majority in Ulster. But the appeal to London seemed fatally flawed by the refusal of the Protestant parties in the north to support unification or even to participate in the discussions.

The initiative had an official ring because Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald and his Fine Gael Party were among the participants. But the concessions he and other nationalist leaders sought to make to Protestant sentiment by proposing a new non-nominal constitutional constitution — a shift from past Nationalist thinking — may not impress London, which has to take into account the insistence of the Protestants on continued ties with Britain.

Although the participating parties agreed that a unitary state was the best solution, alternatives were endorsed by three of the four in an effort to overcome Protestant objections. One would create a confederation of north and south, each having its own parliament and executive but with a common president and a central body responsible for foreign policy and security. Another would give London and Dublin equal responsibility for governing the north. The main opposition party, the Fianna Fail under former Prime Minister Charles J. Haughey, refused to back any proposal that would weaken the goal of one state governed from Dublin. Endorsement of the report came from two prominent Americans of Irish descent, House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. and Senator Edward M. Kennedy.

A Soviet Blast At Peking

Ivan V. Arkhipov, a Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister, is scheduled to go to Peking next week to talk trade and try to improve relations between the two biggest Communist countries. Under the circumstances, the Soviet press might have been expected to refrain from criticizing the host country.

But last week, Moscow ignored diplomatic niceties. A commentary by Tass, the official press agency, charged China with going along, openly and tacitly, with President Reagan's "militarist course" and "provocative anti-Soviet orientation."

The Tass document was unsigned, presumably to give it less of an official ring just before the highest-level talks between China and the Soviet Union in 15 years. But the displeasure with Peking's attitude during Mr. Reagan's visit to China was clear as was Moscow's pique with the working relationship established between China and the United States in several fields. Tass contrasted Peking's effort to find common ground with Washington with the positions the Chinese have taken that "hinder the normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations." Tass noted reports of sales of American arms to China and quoted Deng Xiaoping, the Chinese leader, as saying China was not opposed to the arms buildup in the United States. The Chinese were also taken to task for not demanding the withdrawal of American forces from South Korea and not criticizing American actions in Grenada and Nicaragua.

Peking's censorship of anti-Soviet remarks made by Mr. Reagan in a televised speech and interview presumably pleased Moscow but Tass made little of it. Nor did it dwell on the issue of Taiwan, which after the Reagan visit remained the most serious point of division between China and the United States.

Henry Gihler and Milt Freudenheim

Pondering the Meaning of Last Week's Papal Visit

A Quieter Christianity in South Korea

By CLYDE HABERMAN

SEOUL, South Korea — As Pope John Paul II arrived last week on an 11-day swing across Asia, several dozen young men and women held a peaceful anti-Government demonstration in the offices of the National Council of Churches. The Protestant-led council, with 2.1 million members, is a frequent critic of South Korea's authoritarian Government. Its headquarters are commonly used to make a political point. Hardly anyone in Seoul was aware of this sit-in because such events are almost never reported in the highly regulated press. Nevertheless, the protest was a reminder that the churches have long been the chief organized opposition to successive governments possessing limited tolerance for free expression.

These have been desultory days for Korean churches, their human-rights voice muted during a period of introspection and what a Protestant clergyman called "regrouping." Recent anti-Government activism has been largely expressed in the universities. Nearly daily student demonstrations have often led to rock-throwing and police tear-gas attacks. During last week's quiet sit-in at the church council, hundreds of students were battling policemen at two Seoul campuses, one only several hundred yards from a seminary where the Pope was celebrating mass. The student protests continued this weekend.

The recent absence of significant church protest is notable because it was political dynamism — against Japanese colonialists early in the century, and later against leaders such as the late President Park Chung Hee — that helped Christianity to grow spectacularly. Roughly one-fourth of Korea's 40 million people consider themselves Christian. The ratio is expected to reach one-half by the year 2000, putting the church ahead of Buddhism in popularity.

The limits of Christian political activity has been a continuing question. The majority of South Korean Christians are Protestants, some of them fervently evangelical, who tend to be conservative. They see the Government as a bulwark against North Korea's Communism, accepting the argument that democracy must expand at a measured pace, to ensure stability.

Beyond that, anti-Government activists among the Protestant and Catholic clergy say they have had trouble developing an issue. The Government of President Chun Doo Hwan has loosened controls on political expression a bit. No church official is known to be in jail for having voiced dissent. Some activists thought that they had found an issue when a minister and two professors were arrested last winter and charged with

openly embracing North Korea's proposals for reunifying this long-divided peninsula. However, the Government clearly wished to avoid a conflict. It released the three men and the possibilities for protest quickly dissolved.

To a degree, clergymen complain, the Government has succeeded in persuading some South Koreans that the more activist demonstrations, such as those affiliated with the Council of Churches, are subversive. Others say that remnants of fear linger from the early days of Mr. Chun's regime in May 1980, when soldiers killed nearly 500 people in the city of Kwangju. "There is always the basic issue of democracy and the lack of it," a Protestant clergyman said. "But that is hard for most people to focus on. Perhaps when it comes to violence, there will be time for churches to say something. That point hasn't been reached yet."

Into this atmosphere came John Paul II, on what he called a "pastoral trip" to elevate 103 Christian martyrs to sainthood in an open-air mass today that was expected to attract one million people. But no papal visit lacks political implications, particularly in a country often criticized by international human rights organizations. The Pope's itinerary was studded with nuance, from the outdoor mass Friday in Kwangju, scene of the 1980 killings, to a meeting yesterday with laborers and fishermen in the industrial city of Pusan.

Interpretations Vary

In Kwangju, for example, the message was "reconciliation," which the Pope urged upon residents "who are haunted by the memory of the unfortunate events of this place." But for many who live in that southwestern Korean city the scars of 1980 are still deep, and reconciliation with the government is a large request.

For a Pope whose human rights stands have created controversy, the visit presented a dilemma. It was difficult to praise South Korea as a beacon of democracy. But like the Pope, the Seoul Government — which shares a peninsula with one of the world's more fertile Communist states — is vigorously anti-Communist.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the Pope's messages



Pope John Paul II greeting lepers on Sorok Island, off the South Korean coast, last week.

could be interpreted variously. President Chun, who hoped to smooth relations with Christians, could take comfort in papal praise for South Korea's "will to build up a nation from the ashes." A Government spokesman singled out a section of the joint statement that was issued after Mr. Chun and the Pope met, but which was prepared several days in advance. In it, John Paul pledged to respect the "specific separate competence of the church and the state." This, some thought, could be interpreted as an admonition against church meddling in politics.

Then again, in his very first speech, the Pope implied that he was hardly satisfied with the pace of political development, praising South Korea's economic growth but insisting that it should "bring about first of all a more human society of true justice and peace, where all life is held sacrosanct."

In the end, some clergymen said, the question was not whether South Korea's churches were still committed to political change but what events might shake out the present sluggishness. "When there is a need to speak out for the voiceless, the church will do it," said the Roman Catholic prelate, Stephen Cardinal Kim Su Hwan. "There is no need to change such a basic principle."

Nearly Half the Continent's Nations Are Led by Soldiers

Military Rule Is Contagious In Africa

By CLIFFORD D. MAY

LAGOS, Nigeria — At the crowded airport in Lagos a few days ago, a young Nigerian computer salesman talked politics while waiting for a long-delayed flight.

"What this country needs is somebody tough at the top," he said. "Somebody like Idi Amin." Then, seeing the astonishment he had caused, the salesman added: "Oh, I don't mean somebody who will kill a lot of people or anything like that. I just mean, you know, someone tough."

On a continent as big as Africa it is difficult to speak of typical attitudes. But in many of the countries where 20-odd years of independence has brought increased poverty, diminished liberty and an awkward coexistence between traditional values and modern demands, the desire for discipline and authority seems to be growing.

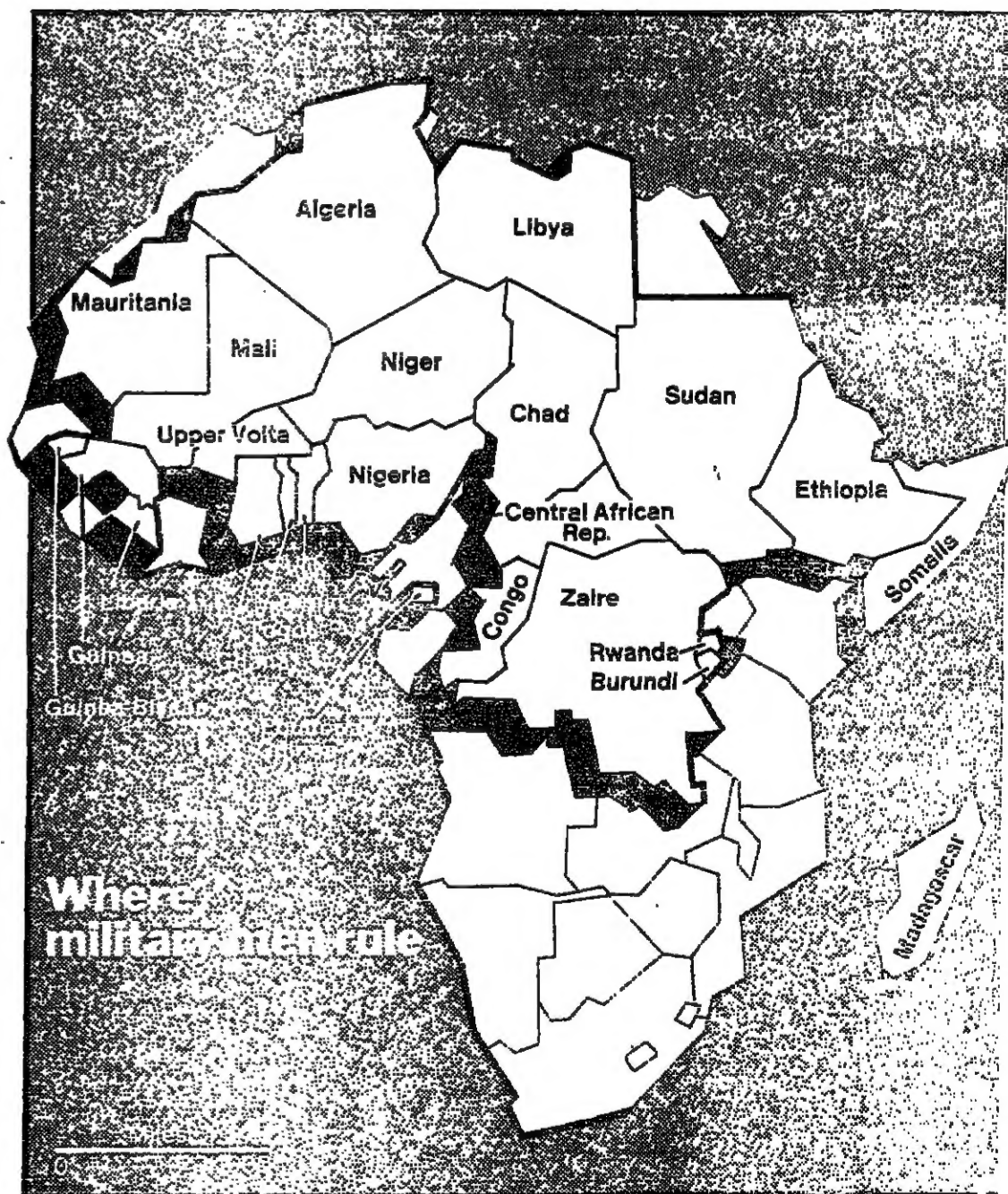
That desire may partly explain the relatively easy acceptance of military regimes throughout much of Africa today. Twenty-four of the continent's 51 independent nations are now led by soldiers. In western Africa, the proportion is even higher: of 23 sub-Saharan countries only six are still under civilian governments. In the early 1960's, when much of Africa became independent, virtually no country was under military rule. In the past dozen years, 11 sub-Saharan countries have come under the military. Uganda is the only African country to have gone from military to civilian rule since 1972.

The most obvious reason for the soldiers' ascendancy is that they are the people most adept at using force, and force continues to be the most common mechanism for political change in Africa. Since the early 1960's more than 70 leaders have been deposed through coups. Several hundred coup attempts have failed.

Until recently, it had been assumed that violence was the principal vehicle for change because there was no other choice. Most of Africa's civilian governments have been one-party dictatorships, unwilling to permit change by peaceful means. But Nigeria had been a multiparty democracy since 1979, when the soldiers voluntarily returned to the barracks after 13 years of military rule. The officers who retook power in January argued, in essence, that a flawed democracy was worse than no democracy at all.

Nigeria was and still is gripped by a serious economic crisis. Neighboring Cameroon, in contrast, has been prosperous by the standards of the continent. Two years ago it, too, managed a peaceful civilian transition when President Ahmadu Ahidjo voluntarily stepped down in favor of a hand-picked successor, Paul Biya. Relations between the two men soured soon after the changeover, however, and there has been speculation that the failed coup attempt last month, in which as many as 200 people may have died, was aimed at returning Mr. Ahidjo to office.

Guinea was another West African country that



gave most observers an impression of stability under civilian rule. Since independence in 1958 Ahmed Sekou Touré had run it in a harsh and oppressive way but had been credited at least with having built solid, pervasive, enduring political institutions. The institutions collapsed as soon as they were shored by the colonels and captains, who stepped in eight days after Mr. Touré's death on March 26.

Uncertainty for Civilians

The failure of longstanding assumptions to hold up in these instances has raised questions about the future of other civilian governments in Africa. The conventional wisdom on the relatively prosperous Ivory Coast, for example, had been that the structures created by President Felix Houphouët-Boigny, the leader since independence from France 24 years ago, would surely survive his passing. Now it seems less sure that the country would hold on to civilian rule.

"What's to stop a group of officers from taking over after Houphouët dies?" a European resident asked. "The French? Why should they care so long as the officers make a clean, quick job of it and adopt a clearly pro-French line?"

The soldiers who have taken power in Africa

are not all cast from the same mold. The rule of thumb seems to be that if the overthrown government had a discernible political leaning, the incoming military rulers will occupy the opposite ground.

While the seizure of power has generally been a relatively easy exercise for Africa's soldiers, few of them have demonstrated a comparable ability to use that power to combat Africa's chronic ills of corruption, drought, famine, financial mismanagement and misallocation of resources. In the four months they have been in charge in Nigeria, the military rulers have made many arrests, issued a number of draconian decrees and initiated a propaganda campaign called "the war against indiscipline" (known as *Wai* and pronounced *Why?* by many Nigerian intellectuals.) But their critics see little effective action on agricultural, industrial and monetary problems.

The problems are too complex for the military, said Dr. Olu Onagoruwa, a prominent Nigerian lawyer and social critic. "They lack the professional and technical competence."

But as the officers know only too well, there will always be others waiting in the wings, younger soldiers confident that they would know just what to do if only they had the chance.

Prosperity, Society, and How They Are Linked

At the National Academy of Sciences Annual Meeting in Washington last week three winners of the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Science — Lawrence R. Klein of the University of Pennsylvania, Paul A. Samuelson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Theodore W. Schultz of the University of Chicago — talked about "The State of the U.S. and World Economies." Leonard Silk, economics columnist for The New York Times, was moderator, and set the frame for the discussion. "In dealing with this subject," he said, "there is first of all what I would call the space problem. Where does the American economy leave off and the world economy take over? There is also a time problem. In economics, many problems are dealt with in the extreme short run; it was the master of the 20th century, John Maynard Keynes, who insisted on saying that in the long run we're all dead. The development problem is not a spot problem. Nor can the environmental and resources problem be taken for granted. There is another problem, in a sense presented to this profession by the black angel of economics, Karl Marx. It is the problem of distribution of income, of welfare, of class struggle — the question of whose economy is it anyway? In talking about a national economy one must think about its social structure and who gets what. In thinking about the world economy, one must think about the same question."

Excerpts of the panelists' remarks and questions from the floor follow.

The Locomotive Recovery

Mr. Klein. I'm struck by the fact that when we have the periodic meetings to look at the portfolio of this Academy, the briefing from Wall Street usually agrees mostly with the assessment that I regularly get from exchanges with academic colleagues and professional forecasters. Yet what seems so natural and repetitive can indeed be perplexing to an outsider. You may well ask, does it hang together? Is the world in a stable situation?

As far as the American economy is concerned, we are in the midst of a sustained recovery, (though) the normal workings of the business cycle should begin to be apparent sometime in 1985 or '86. The recovery process, started in the United States and a few Pacific-developing countries, is being joined by a number of (industrial) countries. World inflation has taken a favorable turn; unemployment may respond, (though) significant improvement is much more problematical. World trade is expected to grow again, although by moderate proportions.

The part of the developing world in chronic trouble is Africa, mainly sub-Saharan Africa; the Latin American countries have had miserable performance and are expected to start to recover, and the Middle East will recover moderately. The Socialist countries average out to be a fairly steady growth pattern.

Can this gradually improving state of economic affairs go on? Are there imbalances building up that foreshadow a major correction or even a crisis?

Confronting the domestic economy, the most frequently cited issues (include) the Federal deficit as a time bomb that threatens to explode. The United States was the so-called locomotive economy of 1983. If we were to falter, it would be a major setback for recovery elsewhere. If we were to do it by virtue of crowding out with high interest rates (caused by the Federal Government's presence in the credit markets) we would be jeopardizing many developing countries' plans for dealing with the debt problem.

It is questionable that gradual world recovery will contribute enough earnings for the developing countries to continue keeping current with interest and rolling over maturing debt. A total solution will be found only in a vast multilateral settlement. In the same sense that one can be optimistic about facing up to the responsibility of dealing with our domestic deficit after the November elections, so can one be optimistic about facing up to the Third World debt problem. Economists are familiar with the principle that it is wise to cut your losses. From this perspective, a viable world picture emerges without a breakdown.

Looking Backward

Mr. Samuelson. Instead of giving you my probabilities, I'd rather try to communicate the flavor of how eclectic analytical economists go about forming judgments. We've had a good case study because you have heard an excellent consensus forecast. So let me take a peek at the economic history books of the future. I believe they will comment on three dramatic features of the American economy that none of us consensus forecasters had predicted.

One: Real interest rates are very high. To find any such comparable inflation-corrected rates of return I'd really have to go back to my days in knickerbockers as boy economist at the University of Chicago. What is great for the pensioner is tough for capital formation and plant equipment, residential housing and managers of tax policy and national debt.

Point number two: America is suffering from a variant of the Swiss Disease. The overvaluation of the dollar resulting from capital inflow is almost lethal for the competitiveness of our manufacturing industry. And the economic historian of the future will take note of our colossal international deficits. Within a few years, we are digging deep into the assets we have acquired in 65 years of post-World War I history.

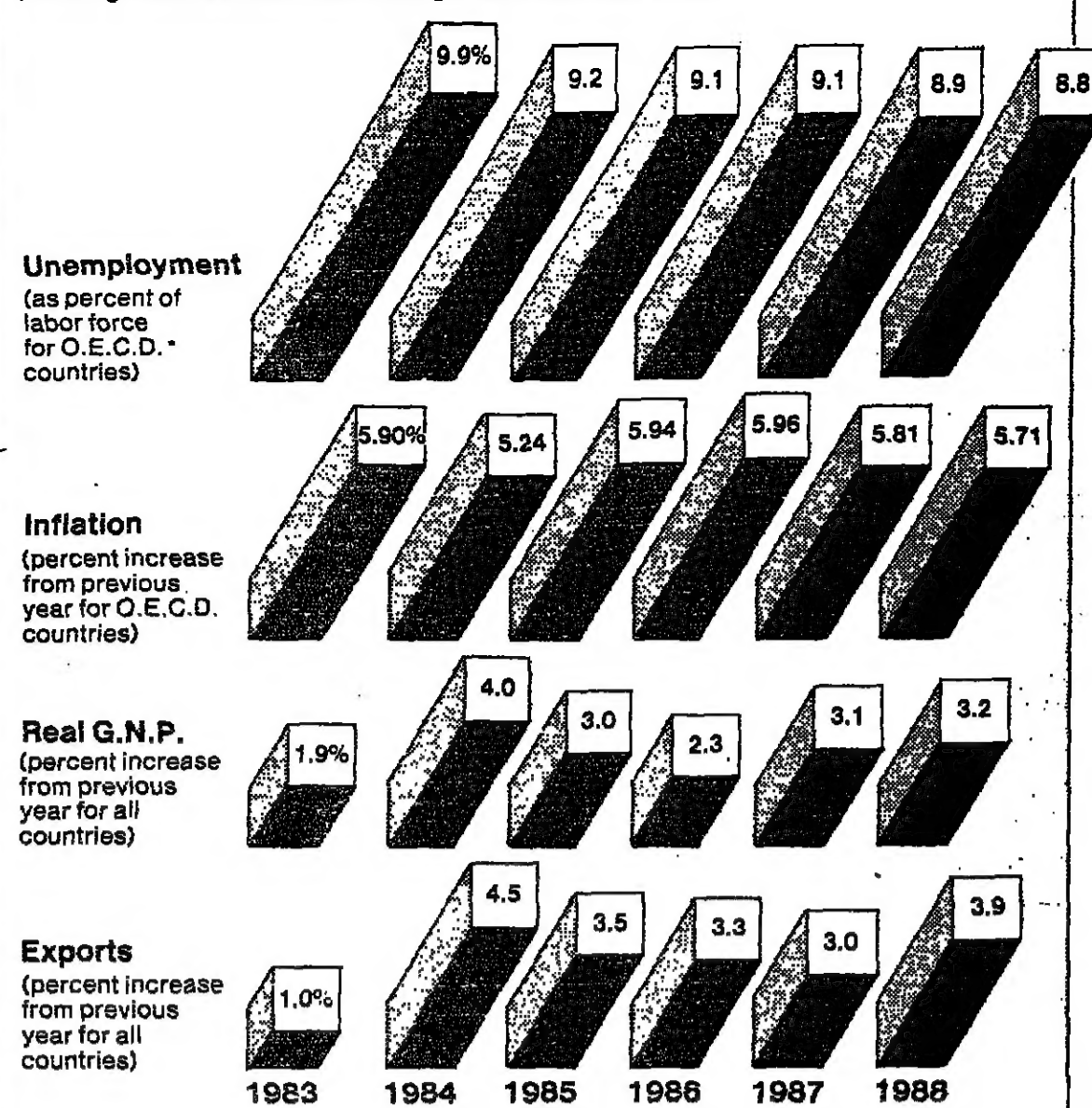
Point number three: America, under a conservative President, runs the largest structural fiscal deficit in our peacetime history.

These three major features are not three unrelated plagues visited by acts of God and the state's enemies. The three are really different aspects of the same one. Despite what used to be said by early 1981 supply-side zealots, a large structural deficit is the devil's prescription to create a high-consumption, low-investment society in its high employment phases. This means that (an) already low investing/saving society will, because of the added factor of public thriftlessness, become even more of that. However, the election will come; then we can perhaps once again seriously discuss economic policy.

Mr. Schultz. Let me talk about what I would label as the not-so-rich countries. I can take a not neces-

The world economic outlook

(1983 figures are actual; 1984 through 1988 are projections)



* Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development includes the U.S. and 23 other industrialized market economy countries.

Source: Project LINK

sarily pessimistic view that we who are so rich (are also, because of) that very fact, parochial.

Nations differ greatly in natural endowments, in profitable or producible physical capital and what I've called human capital, including knowledge, and in the rates at which these stocks and capital are augmented. When account is taken of the differences, there are low-income economies that are performing better than some of the high-income economies.

South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore have no oil, coal, no iron ore. And two of them are city states actually; there's no agriculture. This may be a great advantage. The cultivated land per capita of South Korea and Taiwan is about half of that of China per capita. The high performance of this economic Gang of Four serves to expose the relatively poor performance not only of the Chinese economy but also of the Western high-income countries.

There's another set of four, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines. In terms of real growth, (they) certainly are very respectable. Malaysia's performance comes very close to being so good that it qualifies to be a member of my Gang of Four. And here I'll take issue with the notion that foreign aid is so important in all cases. Malaysia has not suffered the intrusion of aid from wise officers of foreign countries. It has not been pushed to take on our technology, and yet it has been extraordinarily successful in the productivity of rubber. The (story), in my view, re-

quires almost an anthropologist; the economists by themselves pretty well miss it.

The increases in production of food grains in a goodly number of low-income countries are worthy of note. India and China are doing well in wheat, in rice also. India has replaced Canada as the world's fourth largest producer of wheat, by a large margin. (In) the high-yielding varieties, India has been highly successful, Argentina, decidedly unsuccessful. You'd think the advantages would have been with the Argentines.

This question of social organization is a question of management, (of) the distortions of economic incentives, protection, taxation. The United States and the European Western economic community countries in 1983 cost the taxpayer, just in the case of agricultural programs, over \$100 billion. This is fantastic. To paraphrase T.S. Eliot, there is indeed an economic Hades. It's not a country. It's a nation. An economy is indentured to the electorate. The large differences in economic performance under consideration are in large measure consequences of what governments do for and do to their economies.

Cultural Variations

Question. The Japanese have a much lower unemployment rate than all the others. Could it be partly due to the fact that they have to retire at the age of 55?

Mr. Klein. One would say the concept of life-time employment in a company keeps the unemployment rate relatively low; early retirement is quite correct as well, also the general lack of mobility of people compared to Western countries — not only to stay with a company but to stay with an area. That I would say is an institutional, cultural difference.

Q. There seems to be a groundswell of sentiment in the United States for a Constitutional amendment requiring Congress to act within a balanced budget. What would such an amendment do?

Mr. Schultz. Well, I would take a jaundiced view. Unless the people of the United States in their voting capacity want something to happen, it will not really be attained in passing another amendment.

Mr. Samuelson. I have a bilious green view. The (amendment) reflects, and maybe it should from the desiderata of the sponsors, a fundamental mistrust of democracy. If I may broaden out from the question — As Mr. Schultz gave the success stories of different countries, I went through an exercise I've gone through many times. I have always had a feeling of sadness (about) the interactions between Woodrow-Wilson kind of democracy and what it seems to take to release the creative efficiency of the marketplace.

Taiwan is not your run-of-the-mill Woodrow Wilson democracy; Singapore is a very tightly-run ship. Hong Kong is an enclave which has almost no government and no need for government, but it's the nearest thing I recognize to my Middle Western dream of what might be a democracy. I've left out South Korea. I had to add a section to the last edition of my textbook on what I called fascist capitalism, or capitalistic fascism. I return to E.B. White's laconic remark that democracy is a recurrent suspicion that 50 percent of the people are right in the long run and perhaps more than 50 percent of the time.

Q. What's the redistributive effect of the real growth in national income in the 'Gang of Four'?

Mr. Schultz. The answer is at hand in the case of Taiwan, not the others. There's fairly firm evidence that the extraordinary growth in per capita income has appreciably reduced the inequality, largely from rapid investment in schooling, (that) has made people more available to the jobs out of agriculture into many kinds of industries and willing to migrate.

Q. You combined China and India. But there's a tremendous difference in apparent poverty in the two countries. Why the difference in the two societies?

Mr. Schultz. One can go on in a number of directions. The important thing is to look at family structures, and how the Chinese family has survived the last 40-50 years. I think a Westerner would find it hard to take hold of this, (but) it's extremely important as far as what goes on in the economy.

In the West we go through a cycle of misinforming ourselves. Six or seven years ago China was doing everything right, India was doing everything bad. We now know that in that 20-to-30 year period under consideration the deaths from famine in China were in the millions. Not in India. (Then there are) the extraordinary implications of the different policies in reference to population — the doubling of mortality, infanticide of females in China. Then you see the counter story some years back in India which affected largely males. We know so little actually.

Testing the Limits of Israeli Civil Liberties

By DAVID K. SHIPLER

JERUSALEM — Israel has always lived in tension between security concerns and civil liberties, between the drive to prevent terrorism and the need to preserve the attributes of a free society. But rarely have the issues been raised as dramatically as during the past week, when the aftermath of two terrorist acts — one by Arabs, the other by Jews — tested Israel's commitment to two fundamental concepts: the right of the press to publish freely and the right of an accused to legal counsel.

In both cases, methods once reserved for Arabs were used against Jews. A Jewish-owned newspaper was closed for four days by the military censor, and about 20 Jewish settlers suspected of terrorism against Arabs were held and interrogated for days without access to defense attorneys.

The newspaper Hadashot became a target after it had gathered evidence that at least one of four Arabs who hijacked an Israeli bus last month was captured alive by Israeli troops and killed later. The censor banned a Hadashot photograph showing the hijacker being led away in handcuffs. With Supreme Court approval, the censor then closed Hadashot when it reported that Defense Minister Moshe Arens had appointed a commission to investigate. Although Arab publications are periodically closed, it was the first such action against a Jewish newspaper in more than 20 years.

Other Israeli papers knew about the inquiry commission but had observed the censor's ban. Consequently, Hadashot received no support from any of Israel's major newspapers except its parent daily, Haaretz, which is owned by the same family. Haaretz called the closing "a sorry and dangerous chapter in the annals of government-press relations in Israel."

Others were either silent, like The Jerusalem Post, or scornful, like the liberal paper Davar, which is affiliated with the opposition Labor Party. Endorsing "the need to keep the censorship laws," Davar declared: "The owners of Hadashot apparently refuse to understand that the rule of law is the real guarantee for all the liberties which make up the foundation of democracy, among them freedom of the press."

Neither was there much public outcry over defendants' rights after the Shin Bet, Israel's secret police, infiltrated and uncovered what appeared to be a Jewish terrorist ring made up mostly of West Bank settlers. About



Israeli detectives with weapons they say Jews planned to use in attacks against Arabs in Jerusalem.

20 were arrested, imprisoned and interrogated; some signed confessions and re-enacted their crimes, while being denied contact with lawyers. They were suspected of maiming two West Bank mayors with car bombs in 1980, killing three Arabs and wounding 33 with gunfire in Hebron's Islamic College last July and planting bombs on five Arab-owned buses April 27.

The practice of isolating suspects from defense attorneys or other visitors is routine here in security cases, and has been codified in law since 1981. But until recently it had been used almost exclusively against Arabs and has thus been criticized only by the political left. This week, right-wing members of the Jewish settlement movement who had never spoken for Arabs' rights protested angrily on behalf of the Jews under arrest. They were not joined from the left, although some legal scholars were concerned.

"I think it's a miserable procedure," said Uriel Procaccia of Hebrew University's law school. "I don't think it's difficult to explain the motivation psychologically, but I think a democratic society is really tested in times of emergency like that, when the stakes are high and there is a need to nail down the culprits. They are presumed innocent until proven guilty."

By law, a detainee must be brought within 48 hours before a judge, who can extend his detention without formal accusation up to 30 days; further extension requires the Attorney General's endorsement. While under arrest, the detainee can be denied a meeting with a lawyer for seven days upon the signature of a senior police officer, and for an additional eight days on a judge's order.

The rules are stricter under the martial law that applies in the occupied West Bank. There, lawyers say, a detainee need not be brought before a military judge until 18 days after arrest and may be held without trial up to six months. The authorities have no obligation to let him see a lawyer during this period, and according to Raja Shehade, an Arab attorney who has studied the procedures, "the lawyer can only see the detainee after the interrogation is finished."

Physical abuse and psychological pressure are used to extract confessions from Arabs, lawyers and former prisoners say. "This includes beatings," Mr. Shehade said, "putting a hood on the head, refusing sleep, keeping the person standing, putting him through degrading things such as eating food in the toilet, hot and cold showers. Also, insults."

Jewish suspects also suffer, though less severely. Meir Liebowitz described the interrogation methods to his mother, Mrs. Genese Liebowitz of Mill Valley, Calif., when she visited him in jail. He has confessed to acting as a lookout for three other men who fired into an Arab bus last March, wounding six people.

"They didn't beat him up," she said. "But he has asthma. So they hooded him. He said, 'I have trouble breathing.' They said, 'You can breathe.' They shackled him and hooded him, took away his shoes and shirt for two solid days. They made him sleep on the floor; they gave him about five or six hours of sleep every 24 hours."

Japanese Investment, a New Worry

Debate mounts over factory ventures in U.S.

By WINSTON WILLIAMS

CHICAGO — LAST fall, President Reagan issued a policy statement on foreign investment in the United States. In generous terms, he declared that such investment is always welcome, as long as it is based purely on economic considerations.

Maybe so, but when it comes to Japan, that view is not shared by everyone in the Administration. Last month, in fact, William J. Casey, chairman of the Central Intelligence Agency, denounced Japan's big stake in American computer companies as "Trojan horses." He said over-dependence on Japanese technology could undermine this country's pace-setting skills in the field.

Mr. Casey's remark was one of the more dramatic in a new debate over commerce with Japan. While the big issue of former years was how to deal with mushrooming Japanese imports, the more troubling concern emerging today is the long-term economic impact of the increasing Japanese ownership share in American factories.

This new aspect of the Japanese presence in the United States is being welcomed — even wooed — by many Americans as a source of needed capital and valuable technology. But as the Japanese expand into joint ventures with Americans in basic industries such as steel and autos, their economic presence has taken on a double edge.

The worries vary from group to group. For labor leaders, the paramount question is whether the Japanese investment will save jobs — and, if so, whether they will be union jobs. The business community is primarily concerned about the immediate threat posed by Japanese competition for domestic sales. That issue came to the fore last month with Nippon Kokan's new investment in National

A CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR JAPANESE INVESTMENT

- 1971** March — FUJITSU buys a 30 percent stake in Amdahl, the mainframe computer manufacturer; ownership is increased to 47 percent in 1984. Total investment: \$178.7 million.
- 1972** August — SONY opens a \$200 million television plant in San Diego, the first Japanese factory in the United States.
- 1973** August — MITSUBISHI and NIPPON STEEL pay \$350 million for a 50 percent participation in Alcoa, an aluminum maker.
- 1974** April — MATSUSHITA ELECTRIC pays \$175 million for the Quasar Electronics Corporation, a Chicago manufacturer of television sets and microwave ovens.
- 1982** November — HONDA MOTORS opens an auto assembly plant in Marysville, Ohio; the first Japanese car factory in this country.
- 1983** February — TOYOTA and General Motors announce a \$230 million joint venture to manufacture subcompact cars at an idle G.M. plant in Fremont, Calif.
- March — MITSUBISHI spends \$300 to buy 50 percent of the Kennecott Corporation's Chino copper mining and processing facilities in New Mexico.
- March — FUJI BANK pays \$425 million for Heller International, a business finance company.
- June — NISSAN MOTORS drives the first truck from its new \$650 million assembly plant in Smyrna, Tenn.
- 1984** April — NIPPON KOKAN announces an agreement to buy 50 percent of the National Steel Corporation for \$292 million.

Steel — an investment that is likely to make National a more competitive supplier of steel to United States auto makers.

Economists, for their part, have a more long-term worry: that United States industry will be deprived of capital if the Japanese take home the

profits from their American operations, something they have not yet done in significant amounts.

But for all the words of worry, there have been as many or more welcoming the new Japanese investment strategy. "It's funny how many companies cling to the notion that the Japanese do what they do with mirrors, that they just are not fair," says Thomas M. Hout, vice president of the Boston Consulting Group. "When you get the Japanese bringing in new production and management techniques, it makes the challenge more tangible. American industry will have to shed its lethargy."

Japanese investment in American business is not new, of course. It has been trickling to American shores for more than a decade. Indeed, Matsushita's Quasar television plant in suburban Chicago is celebrating its 10th anniversary this year, as is the joint manufacturing venture between Alcoa and its Japanese partners, Mitsui and Nippon Steel. And Sony's chairman, Akio Morita, will arrive in San Diego this week to greet the five millionth television set to roll off the company's 12-year-old assembly line there.

But what is new about Japanese investment here is its size: In recent months aggressive Japanese companies — frustrated by stagnant markets at home, and eager to find a way around the import controls that have stifled their American sales — have been pouring yen into American businesses.

Nippon Kokan's deal to buy half of National Intergrupp's steel division for \$292 million is only the most recent manifestation of the trend that last year pushed Japanese investment in the United States up 30 percent from 1982's level — to \$10.5 billion. Other sizable recent deals have included Toyota's \$230 million joint venture with General Motors to make subcompact cars at an idle G.M. plant in California and Fuji Bank's

The Economy

\$425 million purchase of Walter E. Heller, a Chicago-based financial services firm that specializes in loans to small and mid-size businesses.

The \$10.5 billion stake in American business makes Japan the fourth-largest foreign investor in this country, just behind Canada in the value of total holdings, but only half the size of the Netherlands and Britain. Nevertheless, the Japanese are far ahead of the \$8 billion that Americans have invested in Japanese business. The turning point came in 1981, when Japan's American investments reached \$7 billion.

The Japanese are following a similar strategy in other countries, and if the trend continues Japanese investment abroad will multiply from \$32 billion in 1980 to \$150 billion by 1990 — with more than \$40 billion expected to find its way to North America, according to the estimates of the Japan Economic Institute, a Washington-based research firm funded by the Japanese Government.

The Japanese have special reasons for investing in this country. Restrictions on their exports of steel, television sets and automobiles are holding down sales in America, the world's largest market, while the strength of the yen vis-a-vis the dollar has made Japanese goods more expensive in terms of dollars. In addition, export competition from Japan's industrial neighbors — Taiwan, South Korea and the Philippines — is intensifying.

"The smokestack industries are not too vigorous right now. Our traditional businesses are not expected to expand much," says Kyosuke Mori, deputy general manager of Mitsubishi International in New York. "To cope with this the trading companies are investing overseas and participating in joint ventures, mainly natural resources, high-tech and manufacturing."

For the most part, the growing Japanese investments in American business have been welcomed. Indeed, state and local officials are scrambling over each other trying to attract the money to their own areas. But there are many who see the Japanese money as a possible trap, and they express skepticism about the Japanese effort to set up shop in this country.

"If they become a viable separate interest group and become more powerful, there is concern that they may have too much influence over our domestic affairs," said a Commerce Department official who asked not to be identified. "They are very effective lobbyists, very persuasive in negotiations."

Some business leaders and government officials are debating the desirability of transferring Japanese technology to this country through joint ventures. Washington has no clear policy on the matter and Administration officials are reluctant to discuss such an emotional issue in an election year.

But last month Mr. Casey, the C.I.A. director, on a foray into Silicon Valley, attacked the Japanese presence in the American computer industry. At the weekly luncheon of the Commonwealth Club, a business community study group, he described as "Trojan Horses" the cooperative agreements — such as those between Hitachi and National Semiconductor and between Amdahl and Fujitsu — under which American computer companies rely heavily on their Japanese partners for designs and components for the large mainframe computers they sell.

Mr. Casey's point was that American companies won't bother to develop their own technology. His comment during coffee was received skeptically, especially among the executives of small computer companies that have been dependent on Japanese capital. Mr. Casey, nevertheless, continued, "We view this as a dangerous course in a national security context as well as in a commercial context."

The national security argument and the desirability of safeguarding American technology are often offered as reasons to stifle foreign investment. They were mentioned in 1978 when Boeing took in Japanese (a consortium of Fuji, Kawasaki and Mitsubishi) and Italian partners to build the 767 wide-body jet. Panels for the fuselage were made in Tokyo and shipped to Seattle for assembly.

"If they wanted to develop a commercial airplane they can do it with or without us," says a Boeing spokesman. The deal, he said, allowed Boeing to spread the costs around and to reduce its risks. For its next generation of commercial aircraft Boeing has promised its partners stakes of 25 percent instead of the present 15 percent.

Howard Love, chairman of National Intergrupp, of which National Steel is a unit, has a similar attitude about his company's newly announced partnership with Nippon Kokan, which is Japan's second-largest steel producer. "We had come to the conclusion that we had to compete on an international basis or we weren't going to make it. Technologically, we had to leapfrog rather quickly," he said. "With them we can take steelmaking one step up. We can make it a flow-through process rather than a batch process."

Indeed, technological leadership seems to be as much a characteristic of the Japanese companies coming into the United States as the management techniques that have attracted so much attention — practices like the daily calisthenics at Nissan's Smyrna, Tenn., plant, the weekly discussion meetings between foremen and workers at Matsushita's Quasar plant and the stingy inventory control program at Sony's San Diego plant.

The whole package has some American rivals scared stiff. Some steel executives, for example, believe that U.S. Steel's generous cash offer in March of \$575 million for all of National Steel was a desperation move to keep Nippon Kokan out of the American market. U.S. Steel has been trying for some time to improve its ability to compete both domestically and internationally. Last year it created a furor when it tried to import unfinished slabs from British Steel. The slabs would have been rolled into products at its plant outside of Philadelphia. Some analysts expect U.S. Steel to seek a Japanese partner if the Nippon-National deal works out.

Chrysler may be forced to a similar move if its lawsuit against the General Motors-Toyota venture in Fremont, Calif., is thrown out. Although the Federal Trade Commission has approved the arrangement, Chrysler insists that it is anti-competitive because the two participants are the largest and third-largest auto companies in the world.

To cover its bets, Chrysler is negotiating a similar deal with Mitsubishi, which already makes Chrysler's Colts, Champs, Apollos and Challengers in Japan.

Isn't there some inconsistency between Chrysler's stance on the General Motors-Toyota venture and its own talks with Mitsubishi? Chrysler thinks not. "You have to take notice when G.M. and Toyota flex their muscles," says Richard Miller, Chrysler's Washington lobbyist. "When Chrysler and Mitsubishi flex their muscles everybody yawns."

Protecting Corporate America

Risk consultants seek growth by marketing.

By SAM PASSOW

CONTROL Risks Ltd. has a warning for big Los Angeles corporations: Beware of the potential for terrorism during this summer's Olympic Games there.

"We would not like to exaggerate the threat," said Karl D. Ackerman, a director of the London-based company, "but if anybody is going to seize an event to launch an attack on the U.S., then the Olympics will be a damn good site."

Mr. Ackerman, a former director of security at the State Department, makes this statement with what sounds like the detachment of a diplomat analyzing a volatile political situation. But that was a former life. These days Mr. Ackerman, a rugged-looking six-footer, is selling hard for Control Risks, a security consulting firm seeking new revenue.

His latest product is an \$1,800 service that Control Risks is offering to Los Angeles-based multinationals during the Olympic Games in July. For that sum, Mr. Ackerman says, Control Risks will provide daily intelligence reports on potential terrorists prowling L.A. streets. It will also tell the corporation how to avoid becoming the victim of a terrorist act during the Games, such as the kidnapping of a top executive.

That all sounds alarmist, but Mr. Ackerman said there have been several takers among Fortune 500 companies in Los Angeles, although he won't name them. His sales campaign is not atypical of the goings-on these days in the competitive world of risk consulting, an often secretive growth industry. It was born during the 1970's when terrorism — especially kidnappings — frightened many multinational corporations into buying ransom insurance. The insurance companies, in turn, paid security consultants like Control Risks to tell corporations how to avoid becoming the victims of terrorism.

Today, the field is dominated by Control Risks and Ackerman & Palumbo Inc., a Miami-based firm. They are energetic rivals as they seek to increase the \$4 million in annual revenues that each claims to earn. And they are branching into such new fields as corporate mergers and security against computer theft.

Ackerman & Palumbo and Control Risks have different styles, of course. While Mr. Ackerman was describing the potential for terrorism during the Olympics and the advantages of Control Risks' \$1,800 Olympic service, Louis F. Palumbo, a co-founder of Ackerman & Palumbo, was throwing cold water on his sales pitch.

"Some of our clients have expressed concern," said Mr. Palumbo, "but I tell them I believe that the state and Federal people are dealing with it properly."

Adds his partner, E.C. Ackerman, known as Mike (no relation to Control Risks' Mr. Ackerman): "If anything, we err on the side of caution, otherwise we would blow our credibility. Right now, I would only take moderate precaution in Los Angeles."

The push for new business reflects the fact that most major corporations

already have kidnap and ransom insurance, and the consulting services that go with it. So the consultants are branching out into new areas, trying to convince corporations, for instance, that hostile takeovers pose as serious a threat as a kidnap plot.

In one case last year, an American corporation faced a hostile takeover by a group of wealthy Latin American executives. Ackerman & Palumbo said that it helped to fend off the bid by uncovering the executives' questionable land holdings in South America and shady business deals in Western Europe. — Information the consultants say was used successfully to persuade an American court to block the takeover.

Control Risks, meantime, will soon offer a computer service to give multinational companies access to up-to-the-minute C.I.A.-style reports on the relative dangers in some 60 countries. An executive will be able to use the office computer terminal to read confidential data filed by operatives — diplomats, executives or academics — who work for the consulting group on a retainer.

That sort of information is now delivered in sealed envelopes. Ackerman & Palumbo professes satisfaction with this more traditional method of issuing its periodic reports. In rejecting a computer network, it has warned clients that outsiders might tap into the system.

Control Risks acknowledges the danger, and last year hired two experts to explore possible safeguards.

"As the computer becomes more commonplace," says Arish R. Turle, 45, the company's managing director, "executives will have to give as much thought to the protection of information as they do their personnel."

As Mr. Turle suggests, the changes in the industry reflect the changing nature of corporate threats. According to the Rand Corporation, international terrorism is increasing at a rate of 17 percent a year. But while the number of violent attacks has risen, corporate kidnappings and ransom demands have dropped sharply. Of the 712 terrorist incidents directed against businesses in 1983, only 49 involved kidnappings, according to a recent study by the Public Policy Division of Business International, a New York-based research firm for multinational corporations. The ransom demands in those kidnappings totaled only about \$60 million, a startling decline when compared with the \$62 million ransom an Argentine grain company paid in a single 1970s incident involving the kidnapping of two top executives.

The decline is significant to the consulting groups, both of which have depended on retainers from insurance companies for advising clients on anti-kidnapping measures. In fact, Control Risks was created in 1975 as a subsidiary of a British insurance company, the Hogg-Robinson Group.

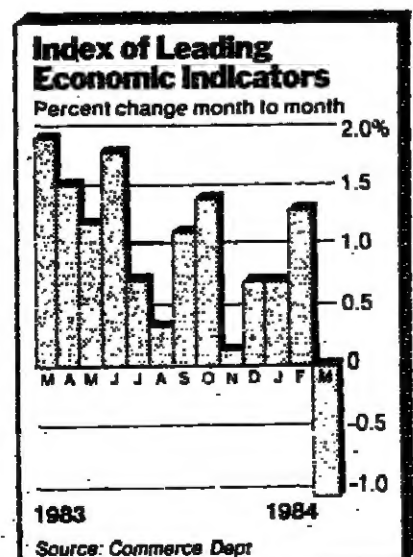
The intelligence services of the two rivals appear to match those of many governments around the world. And the firms promote their prowess to potential clients.

For example, Ackerman & Palumbo claims to have warned clients in September 1978 about the growing turmoil in Iran, advising American businessmen to leave that country. The Shah's Government collapsed in February 1979 and the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini forced many companies that had backed the Shah to abandon their Iranian operations.

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Leading Indicators Portend Moderation

The index of Leading Economic Indicators, an omen of things to come, dropped 1.1 percent in March, ending 18 months of post-recession increases. Although similar movements in the past have signaled the start of a new recession, analysts were confident that this drop foretold no such thing. Instead, they said, it just gave further proof that the economy is moderating. They pointed to such aberrations as a drop in building permits caused by bad weather, and missing data on two of the 12 components of the index. Nonetheless, some expressed concern over the erratic path many economic indicators have taken in recent months.



mark accepted the Kohlberg, Kravis offer for \$55 a share, investors smelled a bidding war, and quickly drove up Esmark's stock price past that level. When Esmark accepted the bid, it surprised some analysts, although others say a higher offer is still quite possible.

Marsh & McLennan said it would lose \$90 million after taxes as a result of what it has characterized as unauthorized bond trading by one of its dealers. That's half again as much as the insurance brokerage said it would lose when it first disclosed the trading

discrepancies a month ago. Marsh said it has uncovered more immediate and long-term positions in Government securities that it had to liquidate. The company also said it is spending about \$10 million on the investigation of the losses.

The Government is expected to encourage private industry to begin competing with Intelsat, the international satellite communications company, at least on the lucrative North Atlantic route. The Intelsat member nations protested the proposed competition, claiming that it would lower the company's income, and lead to rate increases. Intelsat has held a monopoly on transatlantic satellite communications.

The stock market rallied early in the week, reaching a six-week high Wednesday as volume roared past the 100 million mark. But losses at the end of the week wiped out the gain, and the Dow industrial average closed at 1,165.31, down 3.76 for the week. In spite of a \$3.6 million drop in the basic money supply, interest rates continued their upward trend.

Ebbing Earnings Season. Pan Am, still fighting rising labor costs, narrowed its loss, to \$70.3 million in the first quarter. Continental also trimmed its loss, to \$4.9 million. PepsiCo's profits rose a bubbly 27.6 percent. Grumman's net income

rose 11.9 percent. Occidental Petroleum's earnings increased fivefold.

Carter Action. The Securities and Exchange Commission stepped into the fight between Carter Hawley Hale Stores and The Limited, claiming that Carter's defensive move to buy back its own shares and make a takeover more difficult by selling convertible preferred stock to General Cinema actually amounted to an illegal stock tender offer. On Friday, a Federal judge granted a temporary restraining order prohibiting the moves. The S.E.C. said Carter, which has been resisting The Limited's ever-more-ardent advances, in effect pressured shareholders with scare tactics. The S.E.C.'s suit points up the difficulties facing companies that seek novel ways to resist unwanted takeovers.

Top executives of Shell in effect surrendered to the Royal Dutch/Shell Group and agreed to sell, accepting the \$58-a-share offer that has been in force for several weeks. Although the company insisted that the executives were acting as individuals, the move was seen as a signal to Shell employee-stockholders, who have complained of a lack of leadership on the bid. Even with the management shares, however, Royal Dutch, which already controls 70 percent of Shell, is still lacking the 90 percent control it seeks.

The New York Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED MAY 4, 1984				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
AT&T	7,966,600	16 1/4	+	1/4
Esmark	7,193,600	56 1/4	+	1 1/2
N Semi	6,006,100	15 1/4	+	1/2
IBM	5,557,200	112 1/4	+	1/2
Ford Ind	5,204,400	35 1/4	+	1/2
G Mot	4,785,000	64 1/4	+	2
South Co	4,673,500	15 1/4	+	1/2
Exxon	4,637,000	42 1/4	+	1/2
Es Col	4,529,000	66	+	4
Chrysler	4,383,300	23 1/4	+	2
Int Harv	4,221,200	7 1/4	+	1/2
Shell O	3,565,600	58 1/4	+	1/2
Baxt Tr	3,497,100	17 1/4	+	1/2
Corn Ed	3,481,500	24 1/4	+	1/2
Disney	3,467,800	64	+	1/2
Standard & Poor's				
400 Indust	184.0	180.0	180.2	-1.32
20 Transp	139.5	134.3	135.9	+0.59
40 Util	65.9	64.7	65.4	+0.50
40 Financ	117.2	116.7	116.9	+0.07
500 Stocks	162.1	158.6	159.1	-0.78
Dow Jones				
30 Indust	1194.4	1156.9	1165.3	-3.76
20 Transp	520.4	492.2	507.8	+9.27
15 Util	127.4	124.2	125.4	+1.10
65 Comb	465.9	449.9	455.9	+2.03
The American Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED MAY 4, 1984				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
GLC	1,538,300	14 1/4	+	1/2
Aegis Co	1,543,300	8 1/4	+	1/2
TIE	1,408,500	12 1/4	+	1/2
Wang B	868,200	27	+	1/2
Dome P	783,500	2 1/4	+	1/2
Granger	771,100	23 1/4	+	1/2
Rest wt	541,200	1 1/4	+	1/2
Vrbm	531,700	11 1/4	+	1/2
Amdhl	455,900	14 1/4	+	1/2
NPRC	368,400	17 1/4	+	3/4
MARKET DIARY				
	Last Week	Prev. Week		
Advances	1,168	1,056		
Declines	800	917		
Total Issues	2,230	2,221		
New Highs	91	75		
New Lows	145	256		
VOLUME (A.P.M. New York Close)				
	Last Week	Year To Date		
Total Sales	480,906,873	8,129,569,958		
Same Per. 1983	515,485,709	7,683,205,399		
WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
	High	Low	Last	Change
Indust	108.7	107.8	107.8	-0.61
Transp	85.8	83.0	84.4	+1.00
Util	44.8	44.0	44.6	+0.61
Financ	88.4	87.8	88.3	+0.30
Composite	83.1	81.6	81.7	-0.19
New York Stock Exchange				
	Last Week	Year To Date		
Indust	108.7	107.8	107.8	-0.61
Transp	85.8	83.0	84.4	+1.00
Util	44.8	44.0	44.6	+0.61
Financ	88.4	87.8	88.3	+0.30
Composite	83.1	81.6	81.7	-0.19
VOLUME (A.P.M. New York Close)				
	Last Week	Year To Date		
Total Sales	32,194,890	541,874,505		
Same Per. 1983	55,059,165	753,305,889		

The New York Times

Founded in 1851
ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVILLE DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1962

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher
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The Debates, Demonumentalized

Presidential debates: For a quarter-century, the idea fairly quivered with importance. It did not even suffice, in the reverberating tradition of Lincoln and Douglas, to call them debates. They were Great Debates.

Not any more, and that's all to the good, for candidates and for voters.

As recently as last winter, Presidential campaign debates tended to be tense, self-conscious affairs much concerned with rules and red warning lights. And they provoked endless micro-debates. Which format is better, formal or informal? Should reporters ask questions or should candidates interview each other? Should the sponsor be the League of Women Voters, news media or others?

The 1984 Democratic primary campaign, which has already produced a dozen televised debates, gives a clear answer: all of the above. Frequent debates, a variety of formats and a variety of sponsors have turned a stuffy, monumental device into a valuable staple of American politics.

The story of the 1984 debates pretty nearly brackets the campaign. It was in the first one, in New Hampshire, that an argument over deficits brought Walter Mondale and John Glenn to their feet, shouting about baloney. On the same occasion, Gary Hart said, "This party will not regain leadership... unless we offer some new ideas." It was in the Atlanta debate on March 11 that Mr. Mondale first asked Senator Hart, "Where's the beef?"

In New York, Mr. Mondale and Mr. Hart upbraided each other for misrepresentation, prompting the Rev. Jesse Jackson to say that "Tomorrow, the issue will be this rat-a-tat-tat without dealing with direction." In last week's Texas debate, Mr. Mondale and Mr. Hart upbraided Mr. Jackson for not repudiating Louis Farrakhan, a prominent supporter, for his virulent expressions of violence.

Common Sense for Starrett City

In most of America, whites and minorities who go to school, work and even spend leisure time together still live in segregated neighborhoods. A housing development like Brooklyn's Starrett City is a precious rarity. The 46-building, publicly financed complex laudably sustains a commitment to racially integrated housing.

Yet Starrett City maintains that commitment only by maintaining racial quotas. Sensibly, the proposed settlement of a lawsuit challenging this practice would retain a quota and stimulate efforts to expand housing opportunities mostly in other places.

Regrettably but realistically, there is in integrated housing a "tipping point" at which whites begin to flee and leave a segregated community behind. To prevent such tipping, only 35 percent of Starrett City's 5,800 units are rented to minority families. But their demand is great and so this quota forces them onto a much longer waiting list than whites. Some are effectively barred from Starrett City.

Fresh Air for Eager Young Lungs

Jesse, then 10 years old, looked incredulously at the ocean and pronounced it "the biggest swimming pool I've ever seen." Lamar, 7, found it remarkable that "the houses and walls don't have graffiti written all over, and it's not dirty." Anthony, 11, said after his first hike that though his feet were feeling bad "outside," he was feeling good "inside."

These young students of a new environment were all beneficiaries of last year's Fresh Air Fund. They were among the nearly 14,000 poor New York City youngsters taken from the steaming tenements and streets to enjoy a few weeks in small towns or rural camps.

"It's not loud out there," one youngster wrote home. For him, "out there" was one of 316 Friendly Towns in Canada and 13 Eastern states, from Maine to Virginia, in which 10,000 families opened their homes and hearts to such youngsters. For 2,500 other boys and girls, "out there" meant the four camps belonging to the Fund in Fishkill, N.Y.

Debates have lasted one hour and three hours. The camera work and television direction have been clumsy and brilliant. Questions have ranged from Phil Donahue's provocations to John Chancellor's speculations of crisis. The sponsors have included the League of Women Voters, one network and then another, Congressional Democrats, farmers, a nuclear freeze group.

None of this insures edifying debates. As debates have become more frequent, the candidates have become more adept at them — and capable of tailoring even their televised views to their audiences.

In Texas last week, all three candidates falsely assailed the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration reform bill, hoping thus to win favor among Hispanic voters. Mr. Mondale denounced having "to carry around a card proving you're an American" even though the bill requires no such card. What it might require is producing a Social Security number, no sudden step toward fascism.

In any event, debates may be only one aspect of something larger. Candidates used to follow their own individual campaign trails. Increasingly, those trails seem to run parallel, across and together in the growing number of joint appearances at candidate fairs, state party forums and other "cattle shows" — and debates.

And perhaps what we're seeing evolve is something much more important about television. Instead of just being one of the media that cover campaigns, television seems increasingly to be the forum in which the campaign takes place.

One can ask too much of the debates. They can demonstrate the candidates' sparring skills but tell nothing about the next higher dimension of politics: why the candidates want to be President and where as leaders they would lead. That shortcoming, however, arises not from the art form but from the candidates.

Thus five years ago, several black families sued to challenge the quota system. Now a settlement has been proposed for judicial approval. It would require Starrett City to make an additional 175 units available to minority families over the next five years. More important, it requires New York State to encourage the opening of more housing for minority families in 86 other state-supported, less integrated New York City developments. The goal would be 20 percent minority occupancy in those other developments within 15 years.

Each project would develop a voluntary "open access" plan to attract minorities. The state's housing commissioner could investigate any suspicions of unlawful discrimination and impose administrative sanctions.

Unfortunately, many of the families who brought the suit will not benefit from the settlement. Most have moved to other places, some out of town. But hundreds of others who will know the benefits of living in a stable, integrated community will be in their debt.

"Out there" is where everybody says "Hi," reports one youngster. "even if they don't know you," and where you learn that milk is made in a cow, not a grocery store. For generations of children, the Fresh Air Fund has meant the first escape from urban poverty to clean air and streams and friendships that often last a lifetime.

To carry on with this work, the Fund needs new host families and more funds. The hosts are unpaid, but transportation to the Friendly Towns and supervision, food and maintenance at the camps claim substantial sums. The cost of a Friendly Town vacation in 1984 is \$98, and a child's two weeks in camp will cost \$488. The Fund must therefore raise \$2 million in contributions to supplement its income from bequests.

Tax-deductible contributions, and inquiries about how to become a host family, should be sent to The Fresh Air Fund, 70 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10018.

Topics

Better Late Than Never

Picture Show at Last

Last in the nation, New York will finally put photographs on every driver's license, reducing fraud and also making the license a more, certain identification. That should bring added dividends in policing underage drinking, for example.

New York vacillated for years between a Macro Industries system for processing license photos in Albany and a Polaroid system for processing them in local offices. Motor Vehicle Commissioner John Passidomo picked his way through a legal minefield, looking for economy amid company threats of legal action.

Since a lawsuit is possible from either loser, New York should take a

centralized system, which promises what is most wanted: security. Either system will lengthen the lines on which people wait for renewals. Let New York now take care not to become last in efficient management.

Small Comfort

New York's Mayor Koch feels "very uncomfortable" about the official treatment of Irwin Levin, a social worker who was demoted after breaking a law in order to expose a city agency's negligent response to child abuse. That's why the Mayor has ordered Mr. Levin reinstated in his old job.

The reinstatement may relieve some of the Mayor's discomfort, but

we hope not all of it. The fact remains that only the messenger with the bad news has so far been held accountable for his actions.

With Mr. Levin's status resolved, the Mayor is asking the Department of Investigation why it needed two years to investigate the social worker's allegations. There's a further, tougher question to be asked — of Special Services for Children, an agency of the Human Resources Administration: Were the failures that permitted the deaths of nine abused children caused solely by incompetent case workers who, one hopes, have been replaced? Or were there systemic failures that could recur today?

Until answered, that question doesn't permit comfort.

Letters

To Give Minorities a Fairer Break on Election Day

To the Editor:

Recent discussion of Southern runoff primaries, sparked by the Rev. Jesse Jackson's demand that the Democratic Party eliminate them, raises fundamental questions about conduct of elections in democratic political systems.

Mr. Jackson may be rightfully concerned with underrepresentation of blacks and other minority groups among public officials. But the problem he points to is an inherent consequence of the single-member-district, winner-take-all electoral system that the United States uses for Presidential, Congressional and most other elections.

Such a system is designed precisely to allow political majorities to defeat minorities. The result is that minorities within individual districts elect no representative, and groups that constitute minorities in many different districts are systematically underrepresented.

What Mr. Jackson is suggesting is manipulating election rules to allow minorities to defeat majorities. Even

if the plan were adopted, it need not work as he wishes: It might well change calculations of both potential candidates and voters, and a Democratic nominee elected over the opposition of a majority of Democrats may suffer massive defections in the general election and defeat by a Republican. In any case, it is likely that Democratic leaders would, like Walter Mondale, be unable to endorse a scheme designed to frustrate majority rule.

There is, however, an alternate electoral system that would increase minority representation among elected officials, a system which Mr. Jackson and other Democratic leaders might want to consider.

Most European democracies elect their parliaments through some form of proportional representation in which large electoral districts send multiple representatives to parliament, divided among the parties proportionate to their share in the popular vote. Minorities like blacks can win seats in such a system either by persuading parties to give them positions on party lists (in order to attract

black votes) or, failing that, by running separate political slates. In proportional representation, the latter would not be the suicidal course it currently is in most districts in the U.S., and it would provide an accurate measure of black opposition to existing electoral alternatives.

Simple and fair though proportional representation is in translating popular votes into parliamentary seats, it certainly provides no cure-all for problems of governing divided societies. It cannot guarantee minority representation in a government cabinet.

However, it does deal precisely with Mr. Jackson's problem of minority representation without cynically manipulating election rules to allow minorities to defeat majorities. Incidentally, a proportional election of Democratic convention delegates would substantially increase the number supporting Mr. Jackson at San Francisco. DAVID G. LAWRENCE, Associate Professor of Political Science, Fordham University, Bronx, April 28, 1984

Leave the Chlorophyll In Our Playing Fields

To the Editor:

I applaud Michael Takiff's criticism of artificial turf ("Pseudo Turf at Shea?" Op-Ed April 28). Yet he did not carry the idea far enough.

Baseball and football present the players in a natural setting in which sun, clouds, temperature, wind, precipitation, dirt, grass, puddles and mud are all (slightly unpredictable) elements.

Part of the recognized or subconscious pleasure in these games is this ritualized relationship to the natural world we all live in, and which we perceive in organized, skilled sportsmen interacting on and with that set-aside patch of dirt and grass we call the playing field. To dome it over, to pave it with plastic turf is to cut our link with those emotional, figurative and literal roots in the earth.

I believe domes and phony turf offer the financial advantage of fewer weather-imposed games and, for television, the supposed advantage of brighter and neater-looking green fields. Still, when I watch televised games, I find the artificial turf infields so ugly-looking that I inevitably switch to a game played on real grass, no matter who the competing teams.

I would like to think that draining the blood and chlorophyll from the nation's professional playing fields leads to but a temporary and artificial prosperity and convenience — a situation the deeper human responses of sports fans will ultimately reject. EUGENE BERGMANN, New York, April 28, 1984

High-Tech Bounce

To the Editor:

Michael Takiff's article is an example of cultural lag and failure of nerve. Times change. Conditions change. Expressions of life change. The B.A. (before artificial turf) world was simpler and less demanding. The A.A. world is high tech and on the move.

Balls should spring higher and bounce faster. Men and women should be equipped to catch them. If America is going to move forward, it should move forward on artificial turf. We upgrade our defense systems. Why not upgrade our sports systems? Who needs bucolic baseball in a whirling world? GUS FRANZA, East Setauket, L.I., April 30, 1984

Unlikely Washington-Peking Alignment

To the Editor:

As Winston Lord correctly emphasizes in his April 25 Op-Ed article, "A Taste for Sweet and Sour," the establishment of Sino-American political strands is a sine qua non to the maintenance of any significant long-term relationship with China. Unfortunately, because of a lack of commonality, this is much easier postulated than accomplished.

Even though Chinese history is replete with examples of political pragmatism for economic gain, it would be tantamount to rank apostasy for China's present leader, Deng Xiaoping, to look sympathetically on United States attempts to decimate what are essentially peasant-backed insurgency movements in backward areas such as El Salvador or to look with understanding on U.S. attempts to overthrow left-wing governments such as that of Nicaragua.

Such an attitude would not only provide Maoists occupying important positions in the Chinese military and civilian bureaucracy with a rallying cry of sellout, something Deng would not wish to risk; it would amount to a clear surrender of the ideological torch to the Soviet Union.

Barring a state of absolute national emergency, old-time Chinese leaders like Deng are poor prospects for any meaningful political alignment with an avowedly capitalist state. They recall Chiang Kai-shek's volte-face in 1927 and the destruction of Communist-backed labor unions in Shanghai, the loss of many thousands of comrades during the course of the 1934-35 Long March and the debt owed to the memory of the long-repressed and much-beleaguered Chinese peasants who became the bedrock of the Chinese Communist movement.

However, we in the West can only hazard a guess as to the true nature

Great Expectations of Yesteryear's Teacher

To the Editor:

With all the talk of impending teachers' contract negotiations, strikes and the like, I thought your readers might be interested in the following addendum to a teacher's wage



agreement (the time is circa 1910; the place, New York's Sullivan County):

- Teachers are expected to keep the schoolroom clean and neat at all times by:
 - (a) Sweeping the floors at least once each day.
 - (b) Scrubbing the floor once each

- week with hot water and lye soap.
- (c) Cleaning the blackboards daily.
- (d) Starting the fire at 7 a.m. so that the school room will be warm by 8 a.m.

Teachers will not dress in bright colors. Dresses must not be more than two inches above the ankles. At least two petticoats must be worn. Their petticoats will be dried in pillowcases.

Teachers will not marry, or keep company with men, during the term of her [sic] employment.

She will not get into a carriage, or automobile, with any man, except her brother or father. Teachers will not loiter at ice cream stores.

Teachers are expected to be at home between the hours of 8 p.m. and 6 a.m., unless in attendance at a school function.

The teacher will not smoke cigars or play at cards. She will not dye her hair under any circumstance.

It is understood the teacher will attend church each Sunday and either teach a class in Sunday School or sing in the choir.

The teacher will not leave town at any time without permission of the Chairman of the School Board.

BERT S. FELDMAN, Mongaup Valley, N.Y., April 7, 1984

The writer is adjunct assistant professor of local history at Sullivan County Community College.

Financial Services' Crucial Boundaries

To the Editor:

Your April 24 editorial "Federal Banking Rules, or 50?" correctly recognized that any "new financial rules" to deal with the changing financial services industry in this country should be developed at the Federal level. This view is entirely consistent with that of former New York State Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz, a member of the temporary state commission whose recommendations formed the basis of the recent legislation introduced by Governor Cuomo.

As Mr. Lefkowitz said in his dissent to the commission's recommendation to tear down the historical boundaries between the banking, insurance and securities industries: "In the final analysis, we are faced with deciding the proper level of regulation in these industries, what

functions various institutions should be authorized to perform and who should regulate their activities. All of these questions should be decided on a national level."

However, I would take issue with your characterization of the source and scope of the opposition to the proposed New York legislation to tear down these barriers.

The insurance industry is one of the most competitive industries in the United States, and, contrary to your assertion that insurance is a "high-priced product," the trend over the last decade has actually been for life insurers to reduce premium cost to policyholders.

The Life Insurance Council of New York, whose 55 member companies account for approximately 90 percent of the legal reserve life insurance in force in New York and sold by New York domestic companies, opposes these legislative proposals because we believe that the existing boundaries between the banking, securities and insurance industry reflect sound public policy and should be maintained.

I would also point out that the council is not alone in its opposition to bank entry into the insurance business. In an unprecedented step, the three principal national trade associations representing the life insurance, securities and mutual fund industries issued at the end of March a joint statement calling for a halt to the concentration of power in the hands of large banks.

I can see why it might be tempting to characterize this issue as a simple "turf war." However, the reality is that the restructuring of three of the most heavily regulated industries in the country is a major undertaking and raises incredibly complex questions about company solvencies, the adequacy of consumer safeguards and the disruption of our national economic policy. I would refer those who would like to know more about these matters to the dissenting statements filed with the Report of the Temporary State Commission on Banking, Insurance and Financial Services. PETER J. FLANAGAN, President, Life Insurance Council of New York, New York, April 24, 1984

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WASHINGTON

Reagan After China

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, May 5 — During his journey to China, President Reagan spoke in hopeful terms about America's future relations not only with China but also with all of Asia.

But he was careful to note that political and cultural differences would remain for a long time and that it was essential to increase the traffic of people and ideas between the two regions in the coming years.

This raises the question of whether we are doing enough to educate the rising generation of Americans in the varied languages and cultures of Asia in order to deal with the problems and opportunities that lie ahead in the rest of the century and into the next.

For example, the Japanese Minister of Trade was in Washington recently and was being badgered by a few reporters about the barriers Japan was putting in the way of U.S. exports to his country. "Yes," he said, "but maybe one of the main barriers is that while our people are learning your language, not so many of your people are trying to learn ours."

The latest available figures indicate that there are about 13,500 Japanese enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities and only about 240 Americans enrolled in U.S. college-sponsored programs in Japan.

According to the State Department, between 200 and 300 Americans are now studying in China, while over 10,000 students from the People's Republic are studying in the United States. There are 7 college-sponsored U.S. programs in Taiwan with about 50 students, and over 16,000 Taiwanese enrolled here.

You have to be a little wary about statistics in this field, for they are recorded in different ways in Washington and Peking and sometimes not recorded at all. But at least they suggest a conclusion: that the preparation for the future here is less impressive than the promises of political speeches.

Washington has paid much attention in recent years to our "missile gaps," real and imagined, and also to our alarming "trade gaps" with the rest of the world, but not much to our "culture gap."

Yet one of the reasons for our failures in Vietnam, in Lebanon and in Iran was that we paid so little attention to the history and religious conflicts in Southeast Asia and the Middle East.

Have we learned this lesson? In some ways. The Foreign Service language requirements are a little stiffer than they used to be, but even many ambassadors in the turbulent nations of Asia, the Middle East and Africa cannot speak the language of the nation they are supposed to be speaking to.

More important, there is little evidence that we are preparing for this new awakening in China and the Asian countries, or even for the new commercial computer and industrial robot competition with Japan.

In the hardware of high tech we'll probably do all right, but in the software of language, America is in some ways an underdeveloped country.

Benjamin I. Schwartz, acting director of the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research at Harvard University, thinks there is a kind of "cultural complacency" or even "intellectual isolationism" in America today, especially in regard to the mastery of foreign languages.

Many students seem to think of learning another language, particularly the Asian languages, not as a tool to an exciting career on a new frontier but as a tedious intellectual exercise. So, he observes, they tend to go into law or business, as if the command of a foreign language in a world of multinational corporations would not help wherever they went.

Maybe the main reason is that most of them don't want to go to live elsewhere. Their folks came from somewhere else and they don't want to reverse the process. But there are other reasons.

It takes a long, hard time to learn Mandarin Chinese. But it also takes as much money as perseverance, and lately the money has been running short from the foundations and from the Government because of the Reagan cutbacks.

So we're running short of young men and women and Foreign Service officers and young business executives who see the nations around the rim of the Pacific Ocean as the place to go before their children go to outer space.

But not quite. There are still a lot of adventurous young people in this country who would go anywhere and learn anything if they had a chance and a little money, and a vision of the Pacific world.

President Reagan addressed 700 Chinese students at Fudan University in Shanghai the other day, and he was at his optimistic best. "My young friends," he said, "history is a river that may take us as it will. But we have the power to navigate; to choose direction and make our passage together. The wind is up, the current is swift and the opportunity for a long and fruitful journey awaits us."

It was the best paragraph of a successful trip, but after you come down from the summit, what do you have — a policy for the future and the young or just a photo opportunity for the Presidential campaign?

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A Clear Voice in Spain

By Flora Lewis

MADRID, May 5 — Spain's Prime Minister Felipe González took the breath away from a panel of French journalists who flew down to interview him for Radio Europe 1's version of "Meet the Press."

The group spanned the whole political spectrum. Without exception, they were overwhelmed by the Spanish leader's straight, clear talk. "He says what we all know and nobody dares say," remarked one of the Frenchmen.

Spanish, French and American politics differ vastly. But the reaction suggested that what the public all have in common now is a yearning for a fresh, warm-hearted look at reality. That's what gives an aroma of modernity and a vibrant sense of the future.

Mr. González is a social democrat, read "eager liberal" in the American lexicon. But he rejects all dogma and what he calls 19th-century baggage. His theme words are "flexibility," "effectiveness," "prudence."

"The truth is," he says, "that we have doubts" about the best way to manage the economic crisis and other problems plaguing the world. "Doubting is being truthful."

He argues against rigidity, on the right or on the left. In his view, both are too conservative to deal with the complex of uncertainties that face Spain, and one way or another every Western country.

The Frenchmen, drenched in the tired ideological polemics that pass for political discourse in their country, asked Mr. González how he could call himself a Socialist and take such an open position on what society needs.

His answer was that macroeconomic problems require practical solutions that transcend the old arguments between right and left. There aren't right and left alternatives for dealing with things like inflation, the need for growth, the balance of payments, the deficit, he said.

Nobody asked him what he thought of the supply-side Laffer curve. But his position was that whether more or less Keynes or more or less monetarism were needed was a matter for careful attention to changing circumstance, not for theory.

"The government," Mr. González said, "can be asked for efficiency. It can't be asked for imagination. That's up to the private sector, to individuals, and that's what we need to transform our economic structures."

On the other hand, he isn't for taking the government out of social re-

sponsibilities. "Let enterprise produce and earn," he said. "Then, I'll look after redistribution, but there has to be something to distribute." For him, a social conscience has to do with microeconomics, with how the tax burden is spread, individual needs and with non-economic questions such as education, the family, civil rights.

He adopts the Churchillian formula for his stand on capitalism, or the free market as he prefers to call it. "It is a crude system, but it's the least bad there is. I'm not gilding it, but until a better one turns up, I'm not changing it. If there were a better one, I'd be in favor. The centralized, planned economies of the East are in much worse crisis than the West."

Mr. González, a 42-year-old lawyer, happens to be the most attractive leader in Europe at this time. It isn't only because of his boyish good looks, with a touch of gray now at the sideburns, his sense of humor and his raffish smile. It's because of his direct, no-nonsense, knowledgeable approach.

He doesn't try to talk real problems away, charm or mesmerize people out of their worries or offer to bludgeon the world to stop making trouble. He just tries to be intelligent, moderate and alert to errors so they can be corrected.

He has lost a bit of the prosperity that gave him an absolute majority of the Parliament in 1982. "Austerity is never popular," he said, "and we have to be austere." He has special difficulties trying to protect an inexperienced democracy and hold Spain together in the tug-of-war with regional nationalisms that demand autonomy.

Spain is a particular case, with a full measure of the ailments afflicting all Western countries at a time of painful change, plus several more that are its very own. Mr. González' Government has made some mistakes, but he doesn't ignore them or shuck them off on others. He may or may not keep his countrymen's support as he moves on.

Nonetheless, his way of facing the future is refreshing. He showed, in the impression he made on the politically conscious French, that even discouraging candor and clarity aren't dull. They can be more exciting than bombastic promises or appeals to narrow interest.

American voters aren't less sophisticated or more easily fooled than Europeans. It seems likely they, too, would find lucid attention to the facts of the world more inspiring than two-faced rhetoric or nostalgia for days that weren't all that good.

WASHINGTON — Controlling medical costs has become the Great American Health Game. Congress puts a cap on Medicare payments for 467 medical procedures, and hospitals just pass the costs off to the states. States put their own caps on Medicaid hospital payments, and hospitals just move the pea to private insurers and Blue Cross and Blue Shield. Congress caps payments to physicians in hospitals, and doctors move the pea outside the hospital to their offices or clinics where there are no caps.

The new caps on hospital costs paid by Medicare and many states allow politicians to boast about cutting deficits. But they do little to reduce the costs of the health care system. In 1984, these costs will continue their

inflationary assault on the American economy at double or triple the rate of increase in the Consumer Price Index. Hospitals and doctors will simply shift their charges to private insurers and the Blues. And Americans will spend more than \$1 billion a day for health care.

The experience of the Chrysler Corporation tells a lot about what's happening. Chrysler's 1984 health care costs will exceed \$400 million, or \$550 for each car it sells. That's down from \$600 a car last year — not because costs have abated but because the company is selling more cars. This year, Chrysler must sell about 70,000 vehicles just to pay health care bills.

To cut costs, the Chrysler Corporation has begun a careful examination

U.S. Must Discipline Health-Care Market

By Joseph A. Califano Jr.

of what it has been paying for: • Among Chrysler's (and the nation's) elderly, cataract surgery is common. This procedure takes about 20 minutes and rarely requires a general anesthetic. The average ophthalmologist in the Detroit area charges \$2,000 for the operation. If a doctor performs three of these procedures a day, four days a week, 42 weeks a year, he earns more than \$1 million for less than 200 hours of actual surgery, and has a 10-week vacation.

Chrysler asked some doctors to investigate eight Detroit area hospitals with high percentages of non-surgical admissions for lower back problems. Their study found that two-thirds of the hospitalizations, and 2,264 out of 2,677 of the total hospital days, were inappropriate. At three hospitals, none of the admissions was found to be appropriate. In more than 80 percent of the cases, patients were subjected to expensive electromyograms — a procedure necessary only if surgery has already been clinically indicated. All the test results were normal.

Experts investigated the six Detroit hospitals with the highest number of maternity admissions for patients insured by Chrysler. In more

than 80 percent of the 618 cases studied, one or more of the hospital days were found to be unnecessary — a total of more than 1,000 unnecessary days, about a quarter of the time spent in the hospital.

Chrysler's preliminary investigation suggests that 25 percent of its hospital costs may be due to waste and inefficiency. Elimination of those costs would save some \$50 million in 1984. There's no reason to believe that Chrysler's experience is unique. For the entire health care system, elimination of such costs would save more than \$50 billion — without adversely affecting the quality of care.

But American business alone cannot control health care costs. We need a national policy to restructure financial incentives in America's health care industry: where possible, to instill some marketplace discipline; and where not, some controls. Sleight of hand won't work. Costs disappearing from the Federal health care budget have a remarkable ability to reappear elsewhere in this noncompetitive system, where cost shifting is so easy. The net result is a hidden tax on American business and citizens.

In Chrysler's case, the company provides for its retirees many health care services not paid by Medicare. This means that, as Medicare seeks to ease its own financial crisis by shifting costs to the individual, Chrysler pays the bill. In 1985, a Medicare beneficiary paid the first \$40 of a hospital stay; today, that co-payment is \$356. Similarly, the daily co-payment for long-term hospital stays (between the 60th and 90th days) has risen from \$10 to \$89 per day. Chrysler absorbs 100 percent of these increases. The latest hike in the Medicare hospital deductible costs Chrysler approximately \$1 million a year. Our citizens haven't saved anything. Our Government has simply hidden the pea under another shell.

Similarly, the 1982 Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act requires the employer's group health insurance, rather than Medicare, to provide primary coverage for employees and their spouses over age 65. That provision does not save a single dollar. It simply shifts the pea from Medicare to the private sector.

Some proposals for rescuing Medicare are outrageous examples of the shell game. The suggestion to delay Medicare eligibility from ages 65 to 67, for example, would cost American business and those citizens not fortunate enough to have employer coverage some \$75 billion. And it probably won't eliminate any waste or inefficiency in the health care system.

Congress must address costs across the entire system — not just Federal expenditures. As a first step, Congress should establish a national commission to reform health care, similar to the National Commission on Social Security Reform. The commission should develop a national health policy to cut costs without reducing care. Its membership should include representatives of all the players: Federal, state and local governments, business and labor, senior citizens and junior citizens, lawyers, physicians, hospitals and health insurers.

We must develop an efficient health care delivery system. We cannot keep going the way we are. We simply don't have the money.

As it was, the community weathered the storm and took a key part with America in preserving and expanding free trade and the trading rules. Without the telegraph line between Washington and Brussels, the world trading system would have gone bust several times over during the last 10 years. And we would have slid back to the terrible wasteland of the 1930's.

So Americans have no cause to regret their generous act of statesmanship in the 1950's in supporting a uniting Europe. They rightly saw it to be one of the great adventures of the 20th century, and a prosperous united Europe to be in America's interests.

But will the adventure continue, will it flourish? Take heart from the Italian statesman Giuseppe Mazzini, when there were doubts and jeers about unification of Italy. It was asked: What had the men of Piedmont in common with those of Sicily? Mazzini said with quiet dignity: "l'Italia fara de se." ("Italy will do it by itself.") In the end, so will the European Community. For like the 19th century Italian states, there is no where else for us to go.

Without the internal discipline of the European Community — no tariffs or quotas between member states — Europe might well have gone protectionist after the oil shock of 1973. We would have dragged the rest of the world with us, and the resulting recession would have made the one we are just emerging from look like a vicarage tea party.

to be used indiscriminately for events without the remotest resemblance to it in either scope or intent. That Jewish leaders can speak of assimilation as a "spiritual holocaust" demonstrates how much emotion has been drained from the word and how much has been forgotten or trivialized, for surely no sane person could compare a child's forsaking of Judaism with losing him to the gas chambers. The fact that Israeli police have had "Nazis" shouted at them and that swastikas have appeared on Israeli walls confirms the creeping oblivion. One can no more persuade people to remember by heaving memories at them than one can convey the contents of a book to an illiterate by piling copies of it in front of him.

What is needed is education, without which young people, including Israelis, find it difficult to understand how six million Jews could have been slaughtered with so little resistance. The image of the victims is further diminished by a tragic irony: the fact that Israel, a tiny state with a small population, has itself been able to survive, and thus stands, in the eyes of the historically naive, in damning

contrast to the victims of the Holocaust. Yet this misreads the Jewish reality of the past, when each Jew stood alone and helpless in despair, the six million like so many grains of sand, their numbers adding no strength against the tide of death.

The memory of the Holocaust therefore cries out to us in Israel, who are its custodians, to endow it with at least posthumous dignity and meaning by reminding ourselves and our children that our state is also the victims' bequest, although the victims themselves could not know it, and to explain that the very existence of Israel (which we owe in part to them) has so changed the Jewish people as to make the Holocaust incomprehensible to those who did not witness it.

Can we achieve this aim with a series of mini-Eichmann trials? I doubt it. But there can be no doubt that the Nazi murderers should be tried and punished — not by Israel but by West Germany, in the name of whose people they acted. It is Israel's duty to inform and mobilize world opinion lest indifference again wear the mask of ignorance. The Germans must not be allowed to shirk responsibility, not only because of their past but also for the sake of their future, which is embedded in the past and will be shaped by their relationship to it. The world, which paid so little heed to the victims' cries, cannot be allowed to ignore the cry to memory.



Piecemeal reforms, like the cap on Medicare costs, can be circumvented by hospitals

Be Eurooptimistic

By Roy Denman

Immortal 101st Airborne at Bastogne. But these days can never come again. Whatever disasters strike, there will never be another great European civil war. The European Community has made that impossible.

Second, American exports. Between 1929 and 1939, the United States' gross national product remained the same. Between 1939 and 1982, it rose in real terms by a factor of five. This changed the face of America. Look at photos of Atlanta and Houston in 1940 — and look at those cities now. Without an enormous increase in foreign trade — 12 percent of the G.N.P. — this would never have happened. One-fifth of American industrial production is exported, and half of its farm production. In this, Europe has played a decisive part. The rocketing prosperity of a single European market has made the 10-member community

America's best customer — taking \$45 billion worth of American goods in 1982 — just over one-fifth of the community's exports.

Third, world prosperity. Over the last 37 years, the one world trading system — set up with American support under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in 1947 — has meant the biggest increase in prosperity in the recorded history of the West. This has meant sticking — at times not without difficulty — to the international trading rules.

Without the internal discipline of the European Community — no tariffs or quotas between member states — Europe might well have gone protectionist after the oil shock of 1973. We would have dragged the rest of the world with us, and the resulting recession would have made the one we are just emerging from look like a vicarage tea party.

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WASHINGTON — Eurooptimism. Fiasco and failure in Brussels. The Common Market collapsing. Some recent reports would make one think that green snakes hundreds of feet long were writhing through the streets of Brussels and that the Eurocrats had taken to the hills. But even those Americans who do not go as far as this still put the question: Were we right to back the European Community in the early days? Has it not turned out to be a flop? Was our support a plain mistaken investment?

There are many answers. Here are three. In October 1940, Franklin D. Roosevelt declared: "I say to you again and again, your boys are not going to be sent to any foreign wars." But history caught up with him. Twice in a lifetime, Europe erupted into civil war and brought the rest of the world in with it. Half a million Americans died. My father's generation remembers the gallantry of the Rainbow Division; my own, the

Roy Denman heads the Delegation of the Commission of the European Communities to the United States.

JERUSALEM — Israel faces a terrible dilemma. It wants to bring to justice every single Nazi criminal, to punish them and — to the infinitesimal degree that it is in its power — to avenge the victims. It wants to show that the Holocaust is not forgotten and to reanimate in the world's consciousness the horrors perpetrated against the Jews. It was the Nazi regime that Adolf Eichmann represented at his trial in 1961, just as Israel represented the six million dead.

Thus, earlier this year, before a Federal court in Cleveland, Israel asked permission to extradite John Demjanjuk so as to try him in connection with the deaths of tens of thousands of Jews at the Treblinka death camp. Further hearings are likely next month.

I fear that instead of reviving the fading image of the Holocaust for those who have forgotten, and those who never knew, successive trials of low-ranking Nazis would have as little meaning as restaging a funeral in order to add importance to the deceased. They would only reduce the significance of the original trial and evoke ever-diminishing interest in the atrocities recounted — except for those bearing personal scars, who now mourn not only the victims

Annette Dulzin is a political columnist for the Israeli newspaper Yediot Ahronot.

Israel, Don't Try Nazis

By Annette Dulzin

but also their receding memory.

Horrors fade in the glare of repeated exposure: We live in an age of violence made unexceptional on television screens, which is precisely where the trials would be seen. What one sees makes a bigger impression than what one hears, and the terrifying aspect of these aging Nazis, these powerless elderly people, would outweigh the terrifying evidence given against them. Instead of washing away the dust of indifference that has settled on the memory of the Holocaust, it would bleach it further by showing sadists as no different from psychopaths and criminals anywhere. What made the Holocaust unique would remain invisible: It was not the individual evil of the Nazis but the way in which the majority embraced the lunatic fringe, giving rise to the spectacle of an entire nation — its army, police, Government, laws — joining against its victims, while behind cringed and collaborated large segments of Europe, surrounded by oceans of indifference, not excluding many Jews.

The word "Holocaust" has, since the Eichmann trial, become an ordinary generic term so depreciated as

to be used indiscriminately for events without the remotest resemblance to it in either scope or intent. That Jewish leaders can speak of assimilation as a "spiritual holocaust" demonstrates how much emotion has been drained from the word and how much has been forgotten or trivialized, for surely no sane person could compare a child's forsaking of Judaism with losing him to the gas chambers. The fact that Israeli police have had "Nazis" shouted at them and that swastikas have appeared on Israeli walls confirms the creeping oblivion. One can no more persuade people to remember by heaving memories at them than one can convey the contents of a book to an illiterate by piling copies of it in front of him.

What is needed is education, without which young people, including Israelis, find it difficult to understand how six million Jews could have been slaughtered with so little resistance. The image of the victims is further diminished by a tragic irony: the fact that Israel, a tiny state with a small population, has itself been able to survive, and thus stands, in the eyes of the historically naive, in damning

WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY

The Post's Yosef Goell talks to Ali Yehia Adib, the first Arab to be selected to light an Independence Day torch

TOWARDS the end of Israel's 1948 War of Independence, Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, a politician who enjoyed talking with philosophers, convened a meeting of leading Israeli thinkers and confronted them with the question: "What should be done to fashion a nation out of the motley human elements who constitute the population of the new-born state?"

Martin Buber, who was by then a world-famous philosopher but no favourite of Ben-Gurion's, proffered the following advice: "As a politician you will not be able to avoid doing things that are nasty and even repugnant. But every now and then, as a leader of a nation-in-the-making, decree a step that seems to have no intrinsic political value but does have the electrifying power of moral uplift."

Ben-Gurion frequently acted in just such a manner. Former prime minister Menachem Begin also seemed to show a similar sensitivity to the power of such acts when shortly after his accession to power he became the first political leader in the world to order the rescue of Vietnamese boat-people and offer them sanctuary.

Last week's announcement that Ali Adib Yehia, of Ulpun Akiva and from the Wadi Ara village of Kafr Kara, was to be the first Israeli Arab to light one of the 12 torches which mark the highlight of Independence Day eve ceremonies on Mt. Herzl, was an act cut from a similar mould. Ali Yehia was on Mt. Herzl on Thursday evening, together with the other 11 torch lighters and hundreds of soldiers, sailors and airmen, for the final rehearsal of Sunday's ceremony. But we preferred to travel to Ulpun Akiva, on the southern edge of Netanya, and to Kafr Kara to interview him.

ALI PROVED to be nearly unimpeachable. The reason was Cloud Nine, to which the news of the torch lighting honour had propelled him. It was not only the personal honour, of which he was fully cognizant, but also the feeling that the recognition on the part of the Israeli establishment of his efforts on the Ulpun Akiva team to foster understanding between Arabs and Jews could at long last provide an opportunity for a breakthrough in the field of Israeli Arab-Jewish relations.

There has always been quite a bit of politics and personal string-pulling in choosing the 12 torch lighters. In the case of Ali Yehia, what apparently worked was the cumulative influence of a formidable "Ali Yehia-Ulpun Akiva Mafia" of which the present writer (as a former pupil of the master teacher of colloquial Palestinian Arabic) and Gil Sadan, who was responsible for Friday night's report on television's Weekly News Magazine, are members.

Much more powerful members of the "mafia" are President Chaim Herzog; Shulamit Shamir, the wife of the prime minister; Attorney General Yitzhak Zamir and his deputy Yehudit Karp; MKs from across the political spectrum; members of the IDF General Staff; and such up and coming Herut politicians like outgoing director-general of the Transport Ministry, Uzi Landau. Former President Yitzhak Navon, who did not have to learn his Arabic

from Ali and even corrected the teacher's slurring of the guttural *her* on Friday night's television programme, is also an Ali supporter.

IT IS BY NOW a commonplace that Israel's Arab minority has become more radicalized in recent years, with "radical" meaning more frequent and vociferous support for Palestinian nationalism and for the PLO as its representative.

The brunt of media reporting would seem to bear out such a conclusion as does much of the academic research done in this regard. But there is also contrary evidence from the electoral behaviour of large parts of the Arab electorate in the last two elections.

There is reason to believe that while the incidence, vociferousness and "legitimacy" of anti-Israeli radicalism has undoubtedly been on the rise among Israeli Arabs, the media may also have abetted this trend and neglected the significant body of Arab opinion that bases its daily behaviour on the acceptance of Israel as a political fact, and welcomes the benefits that have accrued to the Arabs from that fact. Ali Yehia is one of those Arabs who has dedicated his life to furthering the cause of Arab-Jewish understanding in an ethnically pluralistic Jewish state of Israel.

THE 38-YEAR-OLD father of four was the eldest of eight children in the family of a farmer-merchant whose

forebears had been in the region for over 300 years.

"My father couldn't read," he told me in his home this week. "When I finished the local secondary school in Tira and went on to the university, the only book in my home was the Koran."

Ali studied history and Arabic at the Hebrew University in the 1960s, being among the first young men of his village to make such a breakthrough. He then went back home to become a teacher of civics and history, which was the normal career for first generation Arab university graduates at that time.

What changed his life was an invitation from Shulamit Katznelson, the founder and director of Ulpun Akiva, to teach Arabic at the Netanya ulpan. Ali has devoted the last 14 years to the teaching of colloquial Arabic there, and above that to the imparting of a knowledge of and a sensitivity to things Arab to the over 4,000 students who have passed through his classes.

In keeping with his role as a self-appointed ethnic and cultural bridge, he has also kept up his teaching in the Kafr Kara high school, and his village home has seen more Jewish visitors pass through it than that of nearly any other Israeli Arab.

In any awarding of marks of recognition, Ali would deserve high grades for his ability as a teacher, as any member of "the Mafia" would wil-

lingly attest. But he is the first to insist that the honour has been accorded to him as part of the Ulpun Akiva team and as the representative of a vision of achieving closer, more harmonious Arab-Jewish relations through an enhancement of each community's knowledge of the other.

ALI YEHIA'S selection as a torch lighter was so recent that it is difficult as yet to assess public reactions to what is a departure from previous selections. There are those who are asking why it had to take 36 years to make such an elementary gesture. And there are others who put down the whole thing as another election year example of "Uncle Tom tokenism."

While we were at Ali's and at Ulpun Akiva, scores upon scores of congratulatory messages had already been received, mostly from Jews. Katznelson reported that Arabs had also come from the West Bank and Gaza to extend their congratulations at the ulpan, where many of them had studied Hebrew. On the other hand, while at Ali's home, his brother-in-law came in to report that there was bad feeling brewing in neighbouring Umm el-Fahm, which is renowned as a "hotbed" of Israeli Arab radicalism. Ali's own high school pupils have not weighed in with their reaction as yet due to the spring vacation. Classes were supposed to resume on Saturday, but Ali was too emotionally

wrung out and he slept late.

Both Ali and Katznelson kept on returning to the theme of "a window of opportunity" that the gesture may have opened towards improving Arab-Jewish relations.

Israel's Arabs have prospered in Israel's 36 years. They have also reaped the advantages of Israel's western health and educational standards and, perhaps above all, of its democratic climate.

But most of these gains have been made at the cost of a grievous affront

to the Arab sense of dignity. Official policy towards the Arab minority has fluctuated between outright suspicion to an equally enraging one of far-going indifference and disregard. Which touches on one of the themes Ali has spent 14 years laboriously instilling in his predominantly "western" students: the supreme importance of the sense of a minority's dignity in ethnically pluralistic societies like Israel's, and all the more so in the context of the Arab Middle East.

And finally an interesting comment on the limits of power: the very "Mafia" which finally pulled it off for Ali, Ulpun Akiva, and for the vision of the integration of Israel's Arabs into this year's Independence Day theme of "the unity of Israel" has not been able to get Ali Yehia of Kafr Kara a telephone.

Questions of care

NEWS BACKGROUND: The Black Hebrews — II/ Liora Moriel

A FORMER member of the Black Hebrews charges that over the past 15 years many of the group's children have died for lack of proper health care, and that others have been scarred for life by diseases improperly treated.

Another defector, Geneva Halley, told *The Jerusalem Post* that in 1974-75, some 13 children died. "I don't really know what disease plagued the community that winter, but some said that it was cholera. The children and adults were also suffering from malnutrition; the children looked like the children of Biafra in the early Seventies, with thin limbs and protruding stomachs."

Halley added that none of the group's members ever received dental care.

A committee of inquiry set up by Prof. Baruch Modan, director-general of the Health Ministry, is scheduled to begin its work later this month and to table its conclusions as soon as possible. The southern district public health officer, Dr. Violeta Turk, is the head of the committee, which was set up following her four-page letter to Modan, outlining allegations about the health risks in the Black Hebrew community.

The allegations were made by Samur Ben-Israel (formerly Melan Coleman), who was a deputy education minister in the community before defecting last year. His voice is not alone.

All the infants who came to the attention of "local health providers"

between January 1979 and March 1980 ("No record of births and deaths in this community is known to exist") were studied by two physicians from Beersheba's Soroka hospital, Eric Shinwell and Rafael Gorodischer. Their findings, published in *Pediatrics* (October 1982), support his allegations: all 72 babies suffered from malnutrition and anemia in varying degrees. Of the 25 infants seen at the hospital, "three were dead on arrival at the hospital and five more died within a few hours of admission in spite of treatment... Severe malnutrition without edema (marasmus) or with protein deficiency and edema (kwashiorkor) was a universal finding in the hospital cases." Most suffered from infections, zinc deficiency and anemia.

Because they were exclusively breast-fed (and their mothers' diet was insufficient), they exhibited growth retardation as well. Most reacted favourably to treatment, but all were "subsequently lost to follow-up."

The 47 babies studied in the Well-Baby clinic also showed "evidence of growth retardation." The authors of the study examined the breast milk

of four of the mothers and it found deficient in fat and nutrients.

Ben-Ami Carter, leader of the 1,500-member (his figure) Black Hebrew community in Dimona, Arad and Mitzpe Ramon, says that he is experimenting in righteous living and ever-lasting life. "This experiment has not come without hardships. We are very strict vegetarians, the most unique in the world, and there have been some problems. We are paying the price so that others who come along don't have to undergo the same things that we've had to undergo."

"Initially, in about three or four years, we lost about 18 babies. Our birth rate now is about 65 to 70 a year, so this means 18 out of some 250. That was one time we really had a crisis, but we solved that problem of B-complex vitamin deficiency."

CARTER's statement cannot be verified, because health officers have no access to the community. "There was a very brief period when a policeman, a nice young man full of optimism, helped us to enter the group and immunize the children," one health officer told *The Post*.

"But this romance was short-lived, two or three months. It was only to confuse the enemy — us — so that they could say that we had been there. When they see that we are trying to get close, they don't let us penetrate their lives, and terminate all contact."

Black Hebrew Tikva Bar-Israel, the "doctor" in charge of the *Beit Haim* (house of life, instead of *beit halaim*, hospital or house of illness) was personally trained by Carter, who is self-trained, or, as he would have it, inspired by God. Women give birth in the *Beit Haim*, with priests present to chant and read prayers and give praises to God. Carter himself names the newborns.

Herpes is rampant in the community, alleges one defector. "I have seen babies with sores around their eyes, noses and mouths, as well as their private parts — and still they wouldn't take them to the doctor. I have seen babies so sick they couldn't cry; it's cruel to let them suffer like that."

"Ben-Ami used to say that the heathens were out to run us out of the country, so they were putting

things in the air and in the food that would affect only us. Do you know, they believed that? Ben-Ami wouldn't admit that it was their diet."

Ben-Ami Carter says there is no venereal disease whatsoever in the community. He admits that the diet was once insufficient but says that the problem has been solved. The chief nutritionist at Soroka hospital thinks differently: "It's hard to believe that among 1,500 people, there would be no cases needing professional medical intervention in four years."

She also believes that some group members eat better than others: "The closer you are to the leader, the better you and your children eat," she said. This was confirmed by Shamur Ben-Israel and denied by Ben-Ami Carter. "Ben-Ami is wasting a lot of innocent lives because he's playing a God game," says Shamur.

Shalek Ben-Yehuda, Ben-Ami's closest adviser, got the people in the community to believe that Ben-Ami was the reincarnation of Jesus Christ, says Shamur. "Now Ben-Ami has moved from that position, and now he's God Almighty."

Ben-Ami Carter does not seem at all bothered by criticism. "After these last accusations," he told *The Post*, "I've become even more inspired." This inspiration, he believes, will lead him to the helm of Israel. Soon.

(This is the second article in a series.)

Preaching to the unconverted

MUSIC REVIEWS / Yohanan Boehm

FORUM FOR CONTEMPORARY MUSIC — "Acoustic 7-11". In cooperation with the British Council (Targ Music Centre, Jerusalem-Eilat, April 30). "About An Old Tune", for String Trio and Piano; Michael Biskin (b. 1940); "The Wings of the Dove", for Violin Solo; Daniel Galay (b. 1945); "Be in the Know", for Flute, Clarinet, Horn, Viola, Cello and Piano; Matyas Seiber (1895-1960); Sonata for Violin and Piano; New York (b. 1949); Piece for Flute Solo; Anthony Payne (b. 1930); "The Stones and Lovers' Place Song" for Flute, Clarinet, Horn, String Trio and Piano.

TO REVIEW a programme consisting solely of contemporary compositions representing various schools and approaches is not a gratifying task. Difficulties abound, because of personal preferences or prejudices, on the part both of the programme organizers and of the reviewer. Only a subjective view can be presented here, and no conclusions should be drawn about the importance or originality of the music.

Aside from Matyas Seiber, Mark Kopytman is by far the most professional composer in this programme. He surprises us with every new piece, as it seems to be trying out different means and techniques. Despite the high-toned programme explanation, this first hearing, I am sorry to say, had no positive or enlightening effect on this writer, who felt a need for intensive study of the score to

understand the composer's intentions.

Watkins' solo piece found in Brigitte Sulem-Reiter a most dedicated and diligent interpreter. This piece seemed to be a serious effort to give a violinist a vehicle for applying technical mastery and musical interpretation in an advanced language; in connection with the Shakespeare quotation from *Romeo and Juliet* was not clear to me. Israeli Daniel Galay's work was incomprehensible, that is, the noise produced by the ensemble did not make any sense to me.

Hungarian-born Seiber, who adopted England as his country, made an important contribution to making 12-tone systems popular among the young generation of English composers. The "Violin/Piano Sonata" was his last work and applies this technique most consequentially, though the Hungarian's natural musicality could not be covered

entirely by the application of intellectual construction. Brigitte Sulem-Reiter and pianist Kevin Allen were excellent partners in a performance that presented the highlight of this evening.

Noa Guy's "Piece for Solo Flute", according to her own statement a piece of occasion, found in Wendy Eisler Kashi a motivated performer; it was quite acceptable as a light-weight work.

Finally came Anthony Payne's piece, purporting to "evoke the wildness of Britain's western seaboard," which he called a "homage to Sibelius." It starts off with interesting sound combinations, illustrative in nature, but after a while it gets a bit monotonous and strains the goodwill of sceptical listeners.

Lior Shambald conducted the various ensembles, mostly acting as traffic coordinator, as musical interpretation apparently does not play much of a role in this sort of pro-

gramme. All musicians performed their tasks with devotion and a serious approach. Still, I doubt that this evening converted listeners to becoming adherents of contemporary music.

ISRAEL SINFONETTA, Beersheba. Paul Tortelier conducting; with Maria De La Pau, piano; Paul Tortelier, cello (Jerusalem Theatre, May 1). Tortelier: Variations on "May Music Save Peace"; Faure: Ballade, Op. 19; Saint-Saens: Cello Concerto No. 1, Op. 33; Bizet: Symphony in C.

PAUL TORTELLIER is as youthful as ever and an artist of ideals, as his opening variations, dedicated to the cause of peace, demonstrated. The variations had titles reminiscent of old French *clavichord* (Rameau, Couperin) and were most pleasant to the ear, precise in meaning and economic in means. The work climaxed in a full hymn-like song.

Tortelier directed from his cello (also in the Saint-Saens concerto), and the Sinfonietta cooperated with

eagerness and discipline. The maestro's interpretive approach to his native French music is de-sensitized, even coolly detached, which by no means detracts from the presentations.

Maria De La Pau performed the *Ballade* by Faure — which is heavily indebted to Chopin, only more verbose — with good taste, fluent technique and romantic expression of controlled impact, which earned her warm applause. The Saint-Saens was run off and was a bit too hasty in parts but showing superb mastery of all things technical; smooth and polished, it reflected the numberless times the artist must have performed it in his long artistic life.

The sunny Bizet symphony, the amazing product of a 17-year-old composer, owes its ever-lasting appeal to its affinity to Mozart and Rossini, enhanced by the exuberance of youth and French *charme*. The composer's inventive musical ideas burst into songfulness at every opportunity — most reminiscent of Schubert's genius. The Sinfonietta performed the symphony with diligence and *elan*, with Susan Barrett contributing a most beautiful solo part in the slow movement.

A most pleasant evening.

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POST**

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Year 6, 5744 • Sha'aban 6, 1404

Watching from afar

ISRAELIS are not known for their reticence. The country's politicians and its press are not retiring in letting their opinions be known — and on many subjects. Some would say too many.

Yet there is one issue about which reticence and reserve have become an accepted pattern, namely the U.S. presidential elections. Whatever Israeli politicians and pundits may believe, they are reluctant to have these opinions gain public display, and in the case of the politicians, even anonymously.

The reason for this reserve is not formal nor because the outcome of an American presidential poll is not of immediate interest to Israel. Quite the reverse.

Comparison with Europe is instructive. Here politicians are willing to get their critical views of American presidential candidates into the press, and not only anonymously. And European news commentators, editors and publishers do not hesitate to make public judgments of the candidates, the incumbent and the American political parties and voters who are, in the European view, responsible for them.

When compared to the European scene, Israelis are deafeningly silent. In the present campaign, this silence is all the more notable because the Democratic Party race has even produced controversy about a matter of specific concern to Israel and the American Jewish community — namely the anti-Semitic and anti-Israel accusations hurled against the black candidate Jesse Jackson.

Mr. Jackson has tried strenuously to shake off these charges. His appeal to Syrian President Hafez Assad to release the three Israelis abducted by the Syrians last week in Beirut shows how anxious he is to dispel that unfavourable image and court the Jewish voter — just as he electrified the black electorate earlier when he secured the release from Syria of a captured black American airman.

But unlike the Europeans, Israel keeps a low profile — even on the controversial Rev. Jackson. The paradox is that while the Europeans do not hesitate to voice partisan views, they can have little impact on American public opinion, for American voters don't care very much about European views. On the other hand, American Jewish voters might in some circumstances and on some issues at least be influenced by Israeli opinion.

It is precisely because of this potential that Israeli makers and articulators of opinion remain reticent, lest they be accused of interference in the American political process. In other words, in this case the capacity to affect, no matter how tenuous and limited, incapacitates. And it incapacitates even on a matter like the proclivities of Jesse Jackson, let alone questions bearing directly on American policy in the Middle East.

It is the converse side of Israel's intimate relations with, and dependence upon, the U.S.

Whither Egypt?

By MORDECHAI ABIR

covertly organized fundamentalists, with their strong infrastructure, could take over the Wafd party machinery and attempt to undermine the regime.

Mubarak, not unaware of this, has already demonstrated that he will respond to subversion with an iron hand, despite his relative liberal policy.

A recent example is the way he dealt with an offshoot of the Communist Party and a militant offshoot of the Moslem Brotherhood, which resorted to subversion and terrorism.

WITH A GNP of about \$30b. (in 1981), the per capita income of Egypt's 45 million population is around \$650 per annum. Low as it is, this average per capita income does not reflect the poverty of the Egyptian people and the enormous difference in standard of living between the urban rich and the poor masses. Nor does it indicate the gap between the average revenue of people in the towns and that of the rural population, the main source of Egypt's vast migrant labour force.

Egypt's devastatingly high birth-rate has dropped, but it is still among the highest in the world. But the slight decline has enabled the government, among other things, to achieve an annual economic growth of about 50 per cent during the last few years. A substantial part of this achievement is to be attributed to the \$4.5b. received from the 3.5 million Egyptians working abroad.

Moreover, Egypt's oil production grew to about 750,000 bpd. in 1983, up from 650,000 in 1982 and despite an increasing consumption of about 350,000 bpd. in 1982, 300,000 were exported. This not only compensated for the decline in oil prices; it contributed further to the country's revenue from this source, which approached \$3b. in 1983.

The Suez Canal has not turned out to be the "gold-mine" Cairo expected it to become after the peace with Israel. Nonetheless, it generated more than \$1.5b. revenue in 1983.

Egypt's improving relations with the Arab countries also contributed to the substantially increasing oil funds, which were invested in the country by Arab private and gov-

ernmental sources.

Finally, Egypt's military industry, which also benefited from improved relations with the moderate Arab countries, was the recipient of contracts for more than \$1b. worth of arms and munitions for the Iraqi army in 1982/3.

Egyptian military exports to Baghdad are expected to rise further in 1983/4, and Egyptian pilots are believed to be flying Iraqi aircraft, along with many other Egyptian mercenaries who are to be found in the Iraqi armed forces (al-Watan, March 16).

All the above notwithstanding, Mubarak's product policies have succeeded in neutralizing the effects of Egypt's enormous socio-economic problems. Government subsidies for basic foods and housing are as vast as ever and substantial incentives are provided to attract the earnings of Egyptians working abroad. However, such measures contradict attempts to solve the country's economic problems and the red tape, widespread corruption and inefficient bureaucracy do little to help encourage local and foreign capitalists to invest in the economy.

It is evident that Mubarak's foreign and domestic policy is increasingly distancing itself from that of Sadat and that his closest aides, such as Mustafa Khalil (Sadat's prime minister) or Nabawi Ismail (Sadat's unpopular minister of the interior in charge of internal security), as well as many others, are not even included in the NDP's list of candidates.

Egypt's government is determined to rejoin the Arab and Moslem camp from which it was rejected after signing the peace agreement with Israel in 1978, and to re-establish its position as leader of the non-aligned and Third World camp.

Yet, although relations with Israel have been limited to a bare minimum, Cairo has refused to cut off its relations with Jerusalem as a price for readmittance to the Arab family of nations.

Nevertheless, it is also imperative for Mubarak's internal and external policy to maintain relations with Israel, at the lowest possible level, as long as it cannot win a meaningful concession regarding the Palestinian issue.

Indeed, Egypt's active role in

undermining Israeli efforts to improve relations with the Third World and Cairo's decision to cut off relations with any country that moves its embassy to Jerusalem were only to be expected.

Far more ominous were General Abu Ghazala's words in Kuwait in mid-April, that his country would not abandon the Arabs if they were to find themselves again engaged in a confrontation with Israel.

The war between Iraq and Iran and Egypt's deteriorating relations with Israel, facilitated PLO leader Yasser Arafat's visit to Cairo at the end of 1983 and Egypt's readmission, in January 1984, to the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). This, however, was not acceptance to the Arab League, which necessitates full consensus.

Subsequently Egypt has become one of the main spokesmen for the Palestinian cause and it is methodically attempting to improve its relations with Damascus.

MUBARAK'S AIM is clearly not only to be readmitted to all the political frameworks from which Egypt was expelled when Sadat signed the Camp David accords. Rather, he is determined to re-establish Egypt's leadership in them without losing face.

For this reason, Egypt has been systematically improving its relations with the moderate and conservative Arab and Moslem countries. It has exchanged visits on the highest levels with many of them, and has re-established diplomatic and economic relations with some.

For the same reason, and to win over the Third World, Cairo began to rehabilitate its relations with Moscow as early as the beginning of 1982. Following the recent visit of Ambassador Polakov, in charge of Middle Eastern affairs in Moscow, the Soviet embassy in Cairo will soon be reopened.

Egypt has also been re-establishing its trade relations with the Eastern bloc and has built up part of its military industry in cooperation with Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

On the other hand, despite the vast military and civilian aid it has received from the U.S., amounting to about \$2.5b. annually, the Mubarak

government is attempting as far as possible to lower the profile of its relations with Washington.

It has persisted in refusing to permit the U.S. to build, or acquire, bases in Egypt for the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) and has always minimized the importance and size of the joint military maneuvers held by American and Egyptian forces in the Egyptian deserts.

Yet, its newly organized army has (with the help of American personnel) not only replaced Soviet strategy and tactics with American ones, but also replaced much of the Soviet weaponry with the latest in American armour, avionics and electronics.

All of this notwithstanding, to prove its independence from Washington, Egypt has been diversifying its sources of arms and purchasing very large quantities of sophisticated weaponry from France, the UK and West Germany, or assembling it in Egypt with French, British, German, Rumanian and Czechoslovakian cooperation.

This, and the fact that the Egyptian army is still deploying substantial quantities of Soviet weaponry which it acquired before and after 1973, is responsible for the hybrid character of the Egyptian armed forces and for the fact that, five years after signing the Camp David accords and receiving the first shipment of American weapons, the Egyptian army is still in the midst of a reorganization process and incapable, even if Mubarak wished, to undertake a more active part in the defence of the Persian Gulf and its oil.

Be that as it may, with an army which is about 350,000 strong, 250,000 reserves, an air force of about 500 combat planes and 150 helicopters of different kinds and a navy which is the largest in the Middle East, Egypt's military power is quite formidable.

Its population of more than 45 million and its position as the hub of Arab cultural life make it, moreover, the natural leader for the Arab family of nations. And its regime is undoubtedly pro-Western.

Yet, one cannot ignore the power of Moslem fundamentalism in Egypt and, even more important, the ambivalent attitude of the younger officer corps to the pro-Western regime of the older senior officers.

In the final analysis, the success of Mubarak's government will depend to a great extent on its ability to maintain the loyalty of the masses through prudent policy and a balanced economy.

The writer is professor of Middle Eastern Studies at the Hebrew University.

POSTSCRIPTS

WHAT WAS once a formidable 2,000-plus pages of the Koran, the Moslem holy book, is now neatly stored in five computer disks and available at the push of a button, thanks to a Thai businessman, who has developed what he says is the world's first Arabic-language computer.

Thiti Siamwalla, who invented this computer with his brother and six computer scientists, says he worked on the two-year project to make the Arabic language and religious teachings more accessible.

Initial funds for the project were provided by the Islamic and Social and Economic Development Foundation of Thailand, which is chaired by Siamwalla's mother, a prominent figure in the Thai Moslem community.

Besides the Koran, Siamwalla also has stored in disks Arabic lessons and simple computer games. The computer will be made fluent in Thai by June, he says.

Siamwalla says he also plans to distribute the computerized Koran set to 45 Moslem leaders around the world.

KUDOS DEPARTMENT: Yitzhak Shamir recently was awarded the "Man of the Year" citation for 1983 by Raymond Talker's Temple of Man in Beersheba.

Talkar, who came to Beersheba from India 26 years ago and has worked since then in a non-scientific capacity at the Institutes for Applied Research, decided to blend East and West and establish the Temple of Man, which operates from his home.

Every year, the Temple of Man awards a citation for those who have done their share for the good of mankind. In 1982, the recipient was The Jerusalem Post's Negev reporter, L.M.

GOD is not necessarily male, says a report prepared by a women's group in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

In fact, the characteristics attributed to God in the Bible resemble "everything that is best in the female way of being human," says the report written by a panel of seven women and four men.

The report, presented recently at the annual meeting of the Woman's Guild of the Church of Scotland in the Scottish capital, does not represent the church's official views.

The 11-member panel, including one female and three male clerics, was divided on whether "the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ" could be addressed as "God Our Mother."

A minority on the panel asserted that "although they acknowledge gratefully the motherly qualities of this father, they believe that to call God 'mother' would be illegitimate, and cause hurt."

In New York, meanwhile, a bishop has called on churchgoers to protest against a bronze sculpture depicting a crucified woman as Jesus in the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

"A woman on a cross is theologically and historically untrue," Episcopal Suffragan Bishop Walter Dennis said. "Jesus was not a woman."

The sculpture, "Christa," created by Briton Edwina Sandys, a granddaughter of Winston Churchill, consists of a 1.3-metre female figure hung on a clear plastic cross.

A SWISS watch firm has received an order to manufacture 100,000 clocks that five times a day will call Moslems to prayer. Thanks to a cassette installed in the clocks the words of the prayer will also be heard.

The Arab firm responsible for the order is Dar al Maal al Islami, based in Geneva.

THE MAY 27 elections in Egypt may prove the nearest thing to free elections in that country for many years. They represent not only another attempt by President Hosni Mubarak to win the confidence of part of the opposition (mainly the professional classes and the intelligentsia), they are above all an indication of his self-confidence and conviction in the stability of his government.

The ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) will compete with five other parties for the national assembly's 448 seats.

The most serious challenge to its hegemony is expected to come from the Neo-Wafd Party (NWP) — a nationalist, middle class, relatively secular party lacking a socio-economic ideology, which ruled Egypt over long periods until Nasser's revolution in 1952.

The second most important opposition party is the Workers Socialist Party (WSP) established when President Anwar Sadat decided in the mid-1970s to liberalize the regime. It soon became a thorn in his side, however, and later in the side of his successor, because of its sharp criticism of their policies, administration and financial management of the country's affairs.

Dangerous as they may appear, the leftist National Progressive Unionist Party (NPUP), which claims to be the heir to Nasser's Arab socialism, the Liberal Party (Al Ahrar) and Al-Umma al-Islamiyya, an offshoot of the Moslem Brotherhood, are too small to present a serious electoral challenge to the regime.

A recently enacted law, moreover, necessitates a minimum of 8 per cent of the popular vote in order to gain any seats in the National Assembly. Consequently, the smaller parties, if they wish to have any representation in the assembly, will be compelled to ally themselves temporarily with one of the larger opposition parties.

The ruling NDP is expected to win well over 50 per cent of the votes, mainly from the lower classes. The Wafd is expected to win about 20 per cent and the socialist party 10 to 15 per cent.

All would be well for the ruling party, were it not for the recent alliance between the Wafd and the Moslem Brotherhood.

The Wafd has always been an opportunist party; now despite its secular platform, which was bound to gain it the support of many Copts, it has opted for closer relations with the Moslem fundamentalists who enjoy a strong appeal among the masses.

As was the case in the past, the

to the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — In your issue of April 19, Today published two articles on aspects of the medical services in Israel. The first was relatively critical, but still good-humoured, and somewhat positive. The second, however, upset me, since I believe it dealt with some relatively unimportant aspects of our hospital services, and completely ignored certain important facts which have an effect on our medical services.

The most important fact is lack of money which inevitably leads to shortage of staff and has a limiting effect on overall facilities. It is grossly unfair for olim from well-established western democracies critically to compare certain aspects with those in the old country. I come from South Africa where the medical services are more than comparable with the very best in the world. But do our critics from S.A., the U.K., and the U.S.A. for one moment consider that these services are enjoyed by the select few in their countries of origin, and are certainly not the standards enjoyed by the poorer whites, the masses of the working classes, the Africans and the negroes. Here in Israel the standards, which, by world standards are high, are enjoyed by all our people regardless of class, race or creed.

Unfortunately, I required major surgery and hospitalization in the surgical ward at the Meir Hospital in Kfar Sava. My wife was also a patient at the Meir Hospital. Both my wife and I have only the highest regard for all aspects of the medical treatment that we received and were able to observe. Both being paramedicals, we are in a position to judge.

We found the medical team, from the head of the department to the newest intern, devoted, concerned and conscientious. They were always approachable, friendly and patient. We found the nursing staff to be dedicated, efficient, hard-working, kindly and sympathetic, often far above the call of normal expectations. It is true that our difficult economic situation and restricted facilities mean that the wards are understaffed, and that the nursing staff simply cannot attend to every whim and fancy of the patients. Most patients realize this and thus display, not only an amazing degree of self-help, but also a great deal of mutual cooperation, with many patients who are able helping others.

What was also gratifying was that we received no more help or consideration than the other patients. All patients, regardless of their status, backgrounds, their race or religion, received the same treatment, kindness and consideration.

True, the frills and the luxuries are few and often non-existent, the facilities mostly simple and even lacking, and there are shortcomings. But if we observe fairly and critically the overall picture, we honestly believe that the treatment we receive compares favourably with that provided anywhere in the world.

L.M. ISACOWITZ

Netanya

HADASSAH HOSPITAL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — In Leah Abramowitz's article of April 27 on the history of hospitals in Jerusalem, she mentions that after World War I, the Rothschild Hospital became known as Hadassah.

It was in 1918 that the American Zionist Medical Unit sent by Hadassah was entrusted to use the Rothschild Hospital. With the Rothschild's approval, the hospital became known as the Mayer de Rothschild Hadassah Hospital administered by Hadassah, the World Zionist Organization of America until 1939, when its new Medical Centre on Mt. Scopus was opened.

The former hospital on the Street of the Prophets became and still is part of the Hadassah Seligson-Brandeis Comprehensive High School.

MRS. JACK LEWIN-EPSTEIN, Chairman, Public Relations Dept. Hadassah Council in Israel Jerusalem.

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REPORT SUSPICIOUS OBJECTS

ABOMINATION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I support the right of all Orthodox Jews to live according to Halacha in their own communities. However, I feel that the proposal by a few politically vocal Orthodox Jews (not representative of the entire Orthodox community) to limit the application of the Law of Return to individuals who are Jewish according to halachic criteria is morally reprehensible and not an appropriate subject for the application of Halacha. To deny individuals entry to Israel because they are not "Jewish enough," while they are subject to persecution and murder in their country of origin because of being Jewish, would be an abomination.

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SERVICE EMPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTIVITY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Macabee Dean's article of April 25 on eliminating distortions contains much interesting and thought-provoking material, but — unfortunately — one widespread and generally-accepted distortion. That is the oft-repeated cry that service workers should be induced to become industrial workers.

Throughout the western industrialized world, one of the most striking modern phenomena is the shift from industrial to service occupations. Just as agriculture once occupied over 90 per cent of the working force and today constitutes less than five per cent, so service employment now constitutes 80 per cent of jobs, and there are estimates that, by the end of the century, only three to five per cent of jobs will be in production.

The reason for this shift is the rapid advance of technology in production processes, which usually expresses itself in shorter hours, more holidays, longer vacations, earlier retirement, more unproductive time at work, and finally in fewer jobs. Reduction of human hands at work does not, however, mean less production. On the contrary, technology is much more efficient than human labour — it is tireless, undemanding and more accurate. Indeed, it has been estimated that changes in methods, machines and materials account for 75 to 90 per cent of changes in productivity, while changes in manpower — attitudes, conditions, methods — account for only 10 to 25 per cent of such growth. An economy which really aspires to productivity should make every effort to get humans out of the

factories through replacement by machines. Even if one looks at Israel's three largest foreign currency providers — citrus, tourism and diamonds — the tourist sector is completely service-based. The citrus industry is also largely service-based, insofar as picking, packing, and shipping are not what are generally thought of as manufacturing or production. And advances in technology are also making certain sections of the tourist and citrus industries more efficient.

Israel's attempt to encourage labour-intensive enterprises, or to use human labour instead of technology, can only succeed if the cost of labour — that is, the standard of living — is lower than that of international competitors such as India, China and Egypt. Anyone who has seen the poverty extant in those countries would not wish such a future on us.

This is the logical conclusion to which the "send them back to the factories" trend will lead us, and I am sure it is not what Macabee Dean intended.

DAVID MACAROV, PH.D.
Associate Professor
Paul Baerwald School of Social Work
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Jerusalem.

Macabee Dean comments:

The professor is correct in almost everything he says. Unfortunately, we doubt the applicability and relevance of what he says.

Israel is vastly different from the western industrialized countries. These countries have strong productive bases. They produce all, or

nearly all, the food, clothing, and other products they need. And if they lack something, they can export their surpluses to obtain another country's surpluses. Their services strengthen their productive base, and they live off that productive base. Israel has a weak productive base. It maintains its present standard of living only because it receives billions of dollars annually in help. The services in Israel give scant attention to strengthening the productive base. They live off the huge influx of outside help.

Israel's productive base must be strengthened by the addition of more manpower — with the highest technological training — until it is strong enough to support the services.

SPEEDING

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — In a recent letter, Philip Marmaros advocated enlargement of the police force in order to prevent traffic offences. In my opinion, this will be of no use whatsoever until the existing force ceases to exempt itself from abiding by the law.

Last week, I hitched a ride from Tel Shoket junction to Hebron in a police car which was on a purely administrative journey. Speeds of 120 kph. were regular and 140 kph. was registered a number of times. I was finally allowed to get out of the car in the middle of the junction and of the road.

If this behaviour is not expected from the public, it should not be tolerated from the police.

CYRIL SIMKINS

Beersheba.

DISCOVERING JERUSALEM

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